

The Structure of Social Interaction

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The Structure of Social Interaction

A Systemic Approach to the Semiotics of
Service Encounters

Eija Ventola



Frances Pinter (Publishers), London

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First published in Great Britain in 1987 by
Frances Pinter (Publishers) Limited
25 Floral Street, London WC2E 9DS

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data

Ventola, Eija

The structure of social interaction: a
systemic approach to the semiotics of
service encounters.—(Open linguistics
series)

1. Sociolinguistics 2. Oral communication

I. Title II. Series

401'.9 P40

ISBN 0-86187-626-1

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Ventola, Eija.

The structure of social interaction

Bibliography: p.

Includes index.

1. Discourse analysis. 2. Semiotics. 3. Social
interaction. I. Title.

P302.V46 1986 401.41 86-21411

ISBN 0-86187-626-1

cc

315835

Typeset by Joshua Associates Limited, Oxford
Printed by SRP Ltd, Exeter

To my parents

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Abbreviations

C	customer
S	server
GSP	Generic Structure Potential (Hasan)
GS	Generic Structure

Generic structure elements

^	indicates 'is followed by'.
GR	GREETING
AA	ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION
SB	SERVICE BID
S	SERVICE
R	RESOLUTION
P	PAY
GH	GOODS HANDOVER
CL	CLOSING
GB	GOODBYE

Basic speech functions

s	statement
as	acknowledge statement
q	question
rsq	response statement to question
o	offer
ao	acknowledge offer
c	command
roc	response offer to command
gr	greeting
rgr	response greeting
cl	call
rcl	response call
ex	exclamation

Exchange slots

DK1	Delayed Primary Knower
K2	Secondary Knower
K1	Primary Knower
K2f	Secondary Knower Follow-up
K1f	Primary Knower Follow-up

DA1	Delayed Primary Actor
A2	Secondary Actor
A1:Ass	Primary Knower's Assent (to do the action)
A1:React	Primary Knower's non-verbal action
A1:LS	Primary Knower's linguistic service
Att	Attention-establishing slot
RAtt	Response to Attention
FAtt	Finishing Attention
RFAtt	Response to Finishing Attention
Gr	Greeting
RGr	Response Greeting
Gb	Goodbye
RGb	Response to Goodbye

Dynamic moves in exchanges

cf	confirmation
rcf	response to confirmation
bch	backchannel
check	check
rcheck	response to check
cfrq	confirmation request
rcfrq	response to confirmation request
ch	challenge
rch	response to challenge
rp	repetition
clfy	clarification
rclyf	response to clarify

Acknowledgements

Grateful acknowledgement is made to publishers for permission to reprint the following materials: Ablex Publishing Corporation for Figure 3.3 and Table 3.1, which were originally published as Figure 3, 'Tentative network for service encounters illustrating genre agnation' and as Table 1, 'Realisation statements for service encounter features' in J. R. Martin, 'Process and text: two aspects of human semiosis', in Benson, J. D. and Greaves, W. S. (1985) (eds), *Systemic Perspectives on Discourse, Vol. 1 (Advances in Discourse Processes (XV))*, Norwood, Ablex: 157–78; Oxford University Press for Figure 3.5, which originally appeared in Ventola, E. (1983) 'Contrasting schematic structures in service encounters', in *Applied Linguistics*, 5, 3: 242–58, Appendix I. My gratitude is also expressed to James Martin for permission to reprint Figure 4.2 from his article 'How many speech acts?', in *University of East Anglia Papers in Linguistics*, 14–15: 52–77, as well as for permission to reproduce Figures 4.1, 5.1, 6.1, 6.2, 7.1 and Table 4.1 (here either in their original form or in a less delicate or modified form) from a yet unpublished manuscript of *English Text: System and Structure*.

A personal acknowledgement is also due to James Martin, whose comments and encouragement during the research I recognize with gratitude. Equal encouragement and companionship, which I have appreciated enormously, have been offered me by the other members of the genre/register research group at the University of Sydney, Australia: Suzanne Eggins, Chris Nesbitt, Guenter Plum, Cate Poynton, Lynn Poulton, Joan Rothery and Anne Thwaite. My special thanks are due to Ruqaiya Hasan, whose role in first introducing me to systemic linguistics has been invaluable, and to Michael Halliday from whose teaching on systemic linguistics and comments on the first draft of the book I benefited greatly. In the final stages of writing the book, I have been able to discuss many of the aspects presented with Robin Fawcett and Margaret Berry, whose comments are highly valued, although it has not been possible to take them fully into account at this late stage. My special gratitude goes to Kari Sajavaara at the University of Jyväskylä, Finland, whose continuous overall support and kindness have in many ways made my work possible. Last, but not least, I wish to thank my family and friends in various parts of the world, who have always offered me 'a haven' to ease the pressures of work.

List of Systemic Notational Conventions

1. $x \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \end{bmatrix}$ = if $[x]$, then $[a]$ or $[b]$.
2. $x \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \end{bmatrix} \\ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} c \\ d \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \right.$ = if $[x]$, then $[a]$ or $[b]$ AND $[c]$ or $[d]$.
3. $\begin{matrix} x \\ y \end{matrix} \mapsto \begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \end{bmatrix}$ = if $[x]$ or $[y]$, then $[a]$ or $[b]$.
4. $\begin{matrix} x \\ y \end{matrix} \left\{ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \end{bmatrix} \right.$ = if $[x]$ and $[y]$, then $[a]$ or $[b]$.
5. $\rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} x^1 \\ y \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a^T \\ b \end{bmatrix}$ = if $[y]$, then $[a]$ or $[b]$; if $[x]$ then $[a]$.
6. $x \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a^T \\ b \end{bmatrix} \\ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} c^1 \\ d \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \right.$ if $[x]$, then $[a]$ or $[b]$ AND $[c]$ or $[d]$; if $[c]$, then $[a]$.

7. $\searrow$ marks the realization of a feature, which is itself underlined if appearing in network: $\searrow$ (*the*).

sample network:
NAME OF SYSTEM $\rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} c \\ d \end{bmatrix}$
point of origin . . . $\searrow$ (realization)
 $\searrow$ (realization)
 $\searrow$ (realization)

Foreword

This book does two things at the same time—as many significant books do. Indeed, it could be said that it does three. First, it is a thoroughgoing linguistic study of a particular **GENRE**—service encounters—in a way that draws explicitly on well-established scientific procedures in linguistics to illuminate this fascinating linguistic phenomenon: one, moreover, that has only recently been re-admitted to linguistics as a suitable object of study.

Secondly, the book introduces a new way of thinking about language—as a dynamic, ongoing **PROCESS** rather than (or perhaps ‘at the same time as’) a static, completed object—which the study of a **TEXT** may be (cp. Martin, 1985). Eija Ventola achieves this through the use of her own particular type of **FLOWCHART**, and this is a concept that should challenge linguists to ask where else in the explanation of language the use of this ‘dynamic’ approach to modelling language may be useful. (See Fawcett, van der Mije and van Wissen (forthcoming) for one example.)

The third new factor is also concerned with how we model language: it is that this book provides the first substantial exposition of some major parts of an interesting new framework for explaining language **AS A WHOLE**. It describes an approach which is beginning to emerge from a group of post-graduate students formed to study register and discourse at the University of Sydney, led by Jim Martin. (Other places where you can find an exposition of these ideas are Martin (1985) and Ventola (forthcoming), but the fullest description of this emerging theory can be expected to be found in Martin, forthcoming.)

It is perhaps important to clarify the relationship between this group of systemic linguists and other systemic linguists—especially as the group is based in the University of Sydney, where the Chair of Linguistics is held by the founder of Systemic Linguistics himself, Michael Halliday. I think it would be fair to say that the group would see themselves essentially as **SUPPLEMENTING** and **EXPANDING** rather than **REPLACING** Halliday’s work—expanding Hjelmslevian, Firthian and Hallidayan concepts to areas of language that are coming under closer scrutiny as linguistics itself expands to take in more and more phenomena that were previously ignored or assigned to some other discipline. The group has been much occupied in expanding and specifying the now familiar concept of **REGISTER**; this was introduced by Halliday over two decades ago, and yet it is still the case that there is no published ‘grammar’ of register, in the sense of a reasonably full specification of the range of meaning potential. One natural way for systemic linguists to do this is by developing system networks for each dimension of variation: field,

tenor and mode in the simplest of the various models of register. (See Fawcett (1980: 84–5) for a simple version of such a proposal and, for an attempt to spell out the tenor options in some detail, Poynton (1984); see also Figures 3.6 and 3.7 in this volume for some aspects of field).

Other phenomena with which the group has concerned itself, and which their emerging picture of language therefore also contains, include the relationship between language and IDEOLOGY (see for example Chilton, 1985). And then there is the concept of GENRE itself. This is assigned the status of a whole semiotic system (i.e. not merely a level of language, or a part of discourse), both in this book and in what is coming to be known as 'systemic semiotics' (and sometimes, half in fun, 'systemiotics'). It must be said, however, that the great theoretical weight that this theory attaches to this component is a matter of debate, and is likely to remain so for some time: it is regarded as the determinant of register choices, and so in turn of the semantic or 'lexicogrammatical' choices in the familiar networks of transitivity, mood, theme and so on. Thus, crudely, in this framework, GENRE determines REGISTER, and register determines LANGUAGE—with discourse structure being regarded as a level of language, and so separated by the plane of register from genre (see Figure 3.2). This is an approach which may raise questions in some minds. And, some might ask, isn't it perhaps the case that certain aspects of the context of situation—i.e. something very close to 'register', as it is formulated here, determine the genre?

This book has the great virtue of giving the reader the chance to observe the sometimes novel ideas of the 'systemic semiotic' framework at work in describing a specific genre, and so to make a more thorough evaluation than has been possible till now. But it will still necessarily be a preliminary evaluation. A fuller evaluation must await a rather more holistic description of the systems and structures in the proposed component of genre—together with the rules by which they are related to the next set of options, those of register. Martin (1985: 253–4) offers a 'tentative' system network and realization rules for genres (reproduced in this volume as Figure 3.3 and Table 3.1). But this, as he warns us (very sensibly, given the early state of play in this area) 'will no doubt prove something of an embarrassment as the study of genre unfolds' (1985: 252). Yet it certainly makes a useful start upon which to build.

Whatever the outcome of the debate about the role of genre in an overall model of language, we should welcome the efforts of the group in general and, in the context of this volume, of Eija Ventola in particular, to develop these ideas in a framework that is fully predictive (i.e. 'generative', for those who wish to relate the concept to Chomskyan terminology). For it is only when we reach the point of putting our explorations of new frameworks for understanding language and its uses to the test of constructing predictive models that we can expect others to give more than an intuitive response to our proposals. And, even if it turned out that some aspects of the overall framework failed to convince, the attempt to develop this new view of language would STILL have been worthwhile. This is because it is only through looking at the perhaps over-familiar phenomenon of language from new perspectives that we are enabled to discover new and significant facts, and in their turn new

ways of explaining them, either in a modified version of an old model, or in a substantially new model such as systemic semiotics.

This book is likely to become an essential reference for any study of genres, even if they do not belong to the genre of the service encounter, because of its exemplary methodology in this notoriously tricky field. And it will also attract readers interested in the use of flowcharts for modelling language, and in the possible insights to be derived from the developing approach of 'systemic semiotics'. In addition it makes a valuable contribution to the discussion of cohesion (Halliday and Hasan, 1976) through its careful demonstration of procedures for handling lexical cohesion, reference and conjunction.

Robin Fawcett
1986

Introduction

This book has grown out of my interest in the linguistics of interaction in social encounters. Its main object is to study how global structuring of interaction is organized and realized by linguistic patterns in such everyday social encounters as service encounters. Social encounters are systems where social processes, which realize the social activity, unfold in stages and, in doing so, achieve a certain goal or purpose. Thus, in the cultural context of a society, each interaction carries a socially recognizable global function. Metaphorically, the unfolding of the global function of the social process can be described as a chain. A chain can, for example, be used for the purpose of securing a sailing boat to a jetty. The chain is made up of several links which, as a whole, make up the structure of the chain. Each link performs an individual function in the chain. The function of the first link, which begins the chain's structure, is to link the chain to the jetty. Each of the middle links takes the chain a step further, until they have created a distance between the jetty and the boat. Finally, the last link has the function of linking the chain to the boat. The boat is now secured to the jetty. By carrying out their individual functions, the elements of the chain achieve the overall global function of fixing the boat to the jetty. So it is also with any instance of social encounter interaction. It is made up of structural elements, each of which carries out a function. Step by step, the structure of the social process unfolds and, having done so, the overall function or the purpose of the social encounter is achieved.

The steps taken in realizing the overall, global function can be illustrated by an instance of social encounter. Example 1 is a transcription of an authentic, recorded, social encounter (the asterisk and the underlining indicate simultaneous speech).

Example 1

server:	yes please [rising tone] {customer turns to server}
customer:	can I have twenty-five cent stamps {5 secs pause: server gets the stamps and server hands the stamps over to customer}
server:	it's one dollar
customer:	okay {customer hands over a dollar note}
server:	* <u>thank you</u>
customer:	* <u>thank you</u>

The interactional staging or the structure which can be recognized in the linguistic and non-linguistic activity in this social encounter is as follows: first, attention is fixed, then a request for goods is made and they are found, the goods are then handed over, the payment for goods takes place and, finally, the interaction finishes with a sign of appreciation. By taking these structural steps, the participants have achieved the overall function of interaction in an instance of one specific type of social encounter, a service encounter.

Above, the unfolding of a social process has been compared to the unfolding of a chain which ties a boat to a jetty. Securing a boat to a jetty may seem similar, for example, to chaining a fierce dog to a post. Although the link-by-link construction of the chains may vary slightly, functionally the chains achieve the same overall purpose. Both of the chains link something to something else. But notice—the same cannot be said about the gold or silver chains which one wears round one's neck. These chains have a purely decorative function. Similarly, when we consider our behaviour in everyday social encounters, we easily recognize that our interactions involve various types of social processes. Service encounters are functionally differentiated from such social processes as making appointments, medical check-ups, sermons, seminars, casual conversations, news broadcasts, narrating stories, classroom lessons, and so on. The concept of typeness is captured in the overall function of the social process in the way the function is achieved by the functional structural elements in the actualization of the social encounter.

Social encounters have been viewed above as social processes which unfold as a structure, step by step, each element contributing to the global function of the social process. Nothing has so far been said about the way each element in turn is realized. If we look at Example 1—a service encounter—it is immediately obvious that both linguistic means and non-linguistic means are used to realize the global function. Although language does not constitute all of the action in this encounter, it is clear that language plays a major part in realizing the social process in the encounter. To differentiate these kinds of social processes from those which are totally realized by non-linguistic means, a term from literary studies, *genre*, will be borrowed. The term is specifically applicable as its literary usage already highlights the two aspects which will also be among the major focal points of this book. Firstly, when genres are studied in literature, the objects of investigation unfold totally linguistically as texts. Similarly, in the study of genres of social encounters, the objects of investigation, the social processes, also primarily unfold linguistically as texts. Secondly, the literary use of the term *genre* involves the notion of typeness or genre typology. If literary texts are to be classified as generically the same kind, they must portray some generic similarities. When social encounters are classified generically the same, the similarities in the social processes within one genre will be found in the way the overall, global purposes are achieved by the unfolding of social activities step by step as generic structures.

The sameness in generic structures reflects the organization of the actualized social processes in terms of the same genre. Generic structures are made 'tangible' through language, the way language is patterned in social encounter texts. Even though the activity in all genres is sequenced in one way

or another, this does not mean that all texts of the same genre need to have all of the possible generic structure elements in them. Hasan (1977, 1979; Halliday & Hasan 1980, 1980/85), for example, describes this phenomenon in terms of genres having obligatory and optional elements; the obligatory elements are genre-defining. The view argued for in this study will be that in the realization of a social process as a text, at least as an interactive text, the participants principally follow the designated social process by selecting the generic structure elements which characterize the text as an instance of a particular genre. But not necessarily all, and only, elements of that genre are chosen. Interactants may opt out or skip certain stages of the social process which canonically would be considered part of that social process. Furthermore, in particular instances of social process actualizations, participants may by generic embedding generate structural elements which are more characteristically parts of a different social process. These above-mentioned procedures often make the generic structures of social encounters seem unique in their actual unfoldings when they are realized linguistically as texts. Although the creation of a generic structure as a text is to a large extent 'dictated' by the interactants' individual or common needs in a situation and by the on-going process itself, it always takes place within the realm of genres that characterize our culture (i.e. the genres that are available to us in the context of the culture of our own society). This is largely what Firth must have meant when he wrote: 'Conversation is much more of a roughly prescribed ritual than most people think. Once someone speaks to you, you are in a relatively determined context and you are not free just to say what you please.' (Firth 1935/57: 28)¹

In short, the notion of genre in this book aims to capture some higher-level semiotic organization found in texts produced in instances of social encounters. The generic organization becomes apparent when instances of social encounters of the same kind unfold as generic structures. What constitutes the generic structure in any instance is discovered by looking at the linguistic (and non-linguistic) patternings in texts. By using service encounters as illustrative material, the relationship of one service encounter text to another will be explained. For instance, with the notions of genre and generic structure it will be possible to relate Example 1 to Example 2.

Example 2

- server: yes please [rising tone]
 {customer turns to server}
- customer: six stamps please
 {2 secs: server gets the stamps and server hands the stamps
 over to customer}
- server: a dollar twenty
 {5 secs: customer hands over a \$20 note to server}
- server: thank you
 twenty dollars
 {8 secs: server gets the change}

server: it's a dollar twenty
 that's . . . two four five ten and ten is twenty
 *thank you
 customer: *thanks very much

The two texts must, on one hand, be considered as unique texts created by the individual participants for their unique purposes. On the other hand, by using the notions of genre and generic structure, it will be possible to characterize both examples as texts of the same kind. They fulfil the same social function in the cultural contexts where they were created, in spite of their individualistic patterns of linguistic realizations.

Since Example 1 and Example 2 are not very different from one another, it may appear that the generic differences are a simple matter of some lexical preferences of interactants when the social processes are realized linguistically as texts. To show that more complex issues are involved when we are trying to state how texts are at the same time the same and different, Example 3 is considered and contrasted to the previous examples.

Example 3

server: can I help you [rising tone]
 customer: yes
 I am after uh . . . a quote on a trip to Cairns . . . student concession
 server: high school or *tertiary [rising tone]
 customer: *tertiary
 server: tertiary to Cairns
 {2 secs: server looks up the price}
 server: one forty-three sixty one way
 just double that for return
 two eighty-seven twenty
 {1 sec}
 customer: say two eighty
 server: yeah
 {2 secs}
 customer: okay
 server: *okay [rising tone]
 customer: *thanks a lot
 server: thank you
 bye bye

The social process that is realized in Example 3 is in many respects different from the social process realized in Examples 1 and 2. For example, since the service in Example 3 does not involve goods, the participants see it as unnecessary to include stages for handing over the goods and paying for the goods. However, it is clear that the customer does receive service and he even shows his appreciation of the service. In this respect Example 3 is like the other two examples. The social process which is realized in Example 3 is that of a service encounter. Yet, the language used for realizing the generic

structure elements is considerably different from the language used in Examples 1 and 2. The effects of what can playfully be called 'situational fine-tuning' become clear when Example 3 is contrasted to the previous examples.

The linguistic effects of 'situational fine-tuning' in texts have in the early contextual theory of language been referred to as register features of texts. Register has been seen as variation of language according to its uses in different situation types (see, for example, Halliday *et al.* 1964: 87; Ure & Ellis 1977: 198; Ellis & Ure 1969). Certain linguistic patterns have been seen to correlate with specific features of the situation type, the context of situation. This correlation has frequently been stated in terms of three variables:² Field (the institutional focus), Tenor (the participant role relations), and Mode (the medium of communication used) (see e.g. Halliday 1977: 200–3). The values of these register variables are considered to define the context of situation and probabilistically to determine what kind of linguistic patterns appear in the texts produced in such contexts. Furthermore, the traditional view of register is also that the register features are scattered throughout the text. This view of register will be slightly modified as the argumentation in the book advances.

Register will be seen as a semiotic organization which realizes generic structure patterns. In the case of the unfoldings in the example texts above, it is indeed hard to characterize the linguistic realizations as resulting from one general choice for Field, Tenor and Mode. Rather, as will be demonstrated in later chapters, what seems to happen is that, when a social process unfolds from element to element, each element is 'fine-tuned' separately to fit the dynamically changing context of situation. That is, as the generic structure unfolds, constant reorientation takes place in respect to different possible Field, Tenor and Mode options. For example, when interactants are establishing their attention at the beginning of an interaction, selections for Tenor are more important than, let us say, for Field. But once the interaction gets on to the stage where, for instance, obtaining certain kinds of goods is negotiated, a whole range of options of Field opens up for selection. Furthermore, the orientation to Field seems to change when the participants start the pay sequence. The goods no longer seem to matter. What matters are the different prices and sums. The examples have so far concerned the shifting of orientation in Tenor and Field as the social process unfolds. But Mode can just as well be 'fine-tuned' when the generic structure is created. If the customer in Example 3 had actually proceeded to book the fare, most likely, when confirming the booking, the Mode would, to put it crudely, have changed from 'face-to-face' to 'telephone'. It appears that when a social process unfolds as a generic structure it makes its own selections stage by stage for register values in the context of the situation.

The simple examples which have been given above suggest that certain redefinition of register will be needed. It will be offered when it will be argued that genre, register and language are to be seen as semiotic systems comprising social semiotics in our cultures (see Martin 1985). Genre will be seen as the plane which organizes the ways social encounters unfold as generic structures in individual instances. Register is the plane which realizes genre by organizing the appropriate register choices in terms of Field, Tenor and

Mode choices at each stage of the unfolding of the generic structure. Language is the plane (together with some non-linguistic systems) which realizes the higher-level choices as linguistic patternings in texts.

Some of the basic concepts and the general framework which will be used in this book have now been outlined. Throughout the book service encounter data will be used as illustrative material. The goal of the book is to achieve an understanding of organization of our everyday social encounters by analysing the language used in these situations. Such an understanding will throw some light on the socialization process whereby 'the biological is transformed into a specific cultural being' (Bernstein 1970/72: 162). Through such interactional everyday encounters as service encounters the whole society participates in the socialization process of an individual. In the socialization process we learn 'the rules and practices of social groups' (Worsley 1970: 153). Because so much of our behaviour is realized by language, language plays a major role in the socialization process. Firth put it in the following way: 'Throughout the period of growth we are progressively incorporated into our social organisation, and the chief condition and means of that incorporation is learning to say what the other fellow expects us to say under the given circumstances' (Firth 1935/57: 28).

Language is a means of becoming a member of one's own culture, but it also enables one to participate in the social life of members from another culture. Learning foreign languages is learning how to behave linguistically in cultures other than one's own. An understanding of how such everyday social encounters as service encounters are organized linguistically helps one in the process of becoming a linguistic member of another culture whether permanently or temporarily. Thus, ultimately, the book also aims to benefit the theory and practice of foreign language learning by showing how one social interaction type is structured in its native cultural environment.

After this initial discussion on genres of social encounters and their unfolding as generic structures, it is appropriate to see how the generic structure of this text will unfold as an instance which belongs to the genre of academic writing. The book falls into two parts. Part I (Chapters 1–3) presents and develops the outlined theoretical framework. Part II (Chapters 4–8) describes and discusses the analyses of the service encounter data.

More specifically, Chapter 1 of Part I will present the theoretical background of the book. It will search for past and contemporary approaches which have dealt with generic structures of texts (of service encounters and of others). Chapter 2 will introduce the service encounter data which will be used to study generic structures and their realizations in texts. Chapter 3 will introduce a network representation, which captures how service encounter genres are related. It will also introduce a flowchart representation, which captures the on-going processes of creating service encounter texts.

In Part II, from Chapter 4 onwards, the approach of looking at texts 'top down'—from genre down—will be reversed. Evidence will be sought from the discourse stratum of language to show how discourse system choices are organized as discourse structures and how these structures realize the generic structures of texts. The chapter will look at the discourse systems of

CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE and whether significant patternings of moves in exchanges also indicate the higher-level generic structures of the service encounter texts. Furthermore, in Chapter 5, the analyses of discourse structures generated by LEXICAL COHESION will be used to see if the organization of lexical patterns in any way reflects the generic structures of the texts. Then, in Chapter 6, evidence of the generic structures will be sought by tracing how, through the phoric systems of English, REFERENCE, the relevant protagonists in the texts are referred to on the discourse stratum. Moreover, in Chapter 7, the discussion will concentrate on the ways in which the interactants exercise the systems of CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING for indicating the generic structures of the texts. The last chapter, Chapter 8, will present a comprehensive view of how these discourse systems collectively function in the texts and enable one to draw conclusions about the genre classification of the analysed texts.

NOTES

1. Throughout this book I shall follow the principle according to which, in citations, both within the text and in the reference list at the end, the original publication date of the book, article, etc., is given first, and then, separated by a slash (/), the publication date of the later editions, reprints or revisions of the original will follow. The page numbers thus refer to the later editions, etc., which are usually also more accessible to readers.
2. During the years of register studies, slightly varying terminology has been suggested and used for the register variables, see for example Ellis & Ure 1969; Fawcett 1980; Gregory 1978, 1982; Gregory & Carroll 1978; Hasan 1973.

Part I

1 Towards a semiotic view of the study of text

The first chapter will review previous work on the unfolding of text structure and will trace the beginnings of generic views on texts. The overview must necessarily be selective. The notions of text and text structure, as they are used in the present study, are naturally not found in the early linguistic writing. However, the principles for textual studies are set out early, and more in some linguistic traditions than in others. Saussurian and Bloomfieldian linguistics, in their pursuit of establishing linguistics as a science, direct linguists towards the study of language in abstraction and, for a long time, for those following this legacy, a text as a unit of social interaction has remained something from which to shy away. It is considered too individual, momentary, not homogenous, too context bound (see de Saussure 1916/74: 80). Although contextual factors may influence how people use language for realizing social activities, the task of linguists is not to account for such matters, because it cannot be hoped to be done in a scientific manner (see e.g. Bloomfield 1930/70: 230, 1933: 139–57, 1943/70: 401). However, almost contemporarily with Saussurian and Bloomfieldian views, a contextual theory which considers language as doing (as realizing social activities in contexts of situation and culture) is developed by Malinowski and Firth. This tradition is often referred to as ‘British contextualism’, and ‘scale and category linguistics’ and ‘systemic linguistics’ are its direct derivatives (numerous books and articles exist which discuss the development and the basic theoretical principles of this tradition, e.g. Robins 1971; Mitchell 1975; Kress 1976; Monaghan 1979; Butler 1979, 1985; Kachru 1980; Steiner 1983; Hasan 1985).

1.1 SETTING PRINCIPLES FOR THE CONTEXTUAL STUDY OF TEXT

Malinowski’s (1923/66, 1935/66; see also Firth 1957a/68; Hasan 1985) linguistic theory, which was developed in an anthropological and ethnographic context of trying to translate textual data collected in primitive languages into English, relates to the hypotheses in this study in three aspects.

Firstly, Malinowski’s view (1923/66: 310) is that in the lives of members of a society language: (1) realizes action (e.g. handing over a utensil or instructing a person in how to use it); (2) expresses social and emotive functions (e.g. narratives express the social togetherness of the society); and (3) realizes phatic communion (e.g. members of a society create ‘ties of union’ by small

talk or by exchanges of greeting). One can consider Malinowski's distinctions as the first primary classification for functions of texts, i.e. for genre typology. Texts indeed seem to group according to activities (service encounters), social/emotive genres (poems, narratives) and phatic communion (casual conversations).

Secondly, for Malinowski (1923/66: 307), 'a statement, spoken in real life, is never detached from the situation in which it has been uttered . . . the utterance has no meaning except in the context of situation'. His (1923/66: 310–11) description of how fishing activity unfolds contextually as a social process has become a classic. Language plays an important role in realizing the fishing action, although a lot of the activity also unfolds non-verbally. The canoes first glide on a coral lagoon in search for fish. The participant roles are specific. Expertise subdivides: some men paddle, some keep their eye on the marine life. The language used at this stage of the activity refers to the lagoon channels and patches. Conventional cries are expressed when a school of fish is spotted. The fleet arranges itself for capture. Verbal exchanges are passed between men so that they can harmonize their movements. The nets are lowered into the water. Some men plunge into the water, driving the fish straight into the nets. The pulling and lifting of the nets is expressed by various loud commands and technical expressions.

Malinowski's description shows a strong feel for situational unfoldings of generic structures, i.e. the unfoldings of social activities/genres as texts in contexts of situation. One of the tasks of this book is to show, firstly, how a social activity unfolds as a generic structure in a text and, secondly, how orientations to relevant institutions and objects (FIELD), to participant relations (TENOR) and to communication channels (MODE), i.e. REGISTER choices, are selected in each structural element of a GENRE. Malinowski's example can be considered a prime example of such register patternings in the generic structure of a text. Language changes as the generic structure of fishing unfolds. For instance, the orientation to objects changes. First, the focus is on the various lagoon channels, then on fish, and further on the canoes, the nets and other technical equipment and so on. Similarly, the participant roles change: the paddlers and the marine life experts become the participants who lower the nets into the water and scare the fish into the nets. Even the channels of communication change: while on the lookout for fish, it is important to be fairly quiet, but once the fish are in the nets, the verbal channel can freely be used. All these changes have 'linguistic consequences' which Malinowski (1923/66: 311) recognizes: 'linguistic material is . . . dependent upon the course of activity'. The activities which unfold in contexts of situation organize the linguistic materials in texts.

The third aspect which Malinowski wants linguists to consider in their analyses of language data is context of culture. Even a description of the relevant context of situation (and the possible shifts in it) is not always enough to make the meanings in texts clear. In Malinowski's studies this was especially the case when language was used in such genres as traditional ceremonies, dances or singing. The language used in realizing such activities must be placed in its 'proper setting of native culture' (Malinowski 1923/66:

301). Without ultimately considering social behaviour in contexts of culture, one is unlikely to understand the meanings expressed in texts: 'the whole world of things-to-be-expressed changes with the level of culture, with geographical, social and economic conditions' (Malinowski 1923/66: 309). The notion of context of culture also proves useful in the present pursuit of studying the genres of social encounters. Genres are seen to be organized and to function in contexts of culture. Societies have their own sets of genres in their contexts of culture. Such genres as rituals, magic or war dances, no longer play a role in most Western cultures, but are an important aspect of the cultural activities in some tribal communities. When constructing a theory for accounting for genres of social interaction, their unfoldings and linguistic realizations, linguists should not forget how culturally varied genres can be (see e.g. Basso's (1970/72) article which demonstrates interesting differences in establishing 'state of talk' in white and Western Apache cultures and Keenan's (1974) study which refutes Grice's (1975) conversational maxim 'be informative' in a Malagasy society in Madagascar).

Malinowski's concept of context of situation is further developed by Firth (1957; Palmer 1968)¹ into a theory where meaning is considered as complexes of statements produced both at the contextual and linguistic levels. It is very clear that Firth (1957b/68: 173) is interested in the study of 'actual language text', not in the study of language in abstraction. The first step in the study of a text is to establish its situational relations, i.e. how a text is a constituent of the context of situation. This is done by establishing what categories function in the context of situation, i.e. (1) who the participants are; (2) what the relevant objects and events are; and (3) what effect verbal action has (for details, see Firth 1957b/68: 177). Once the contextual analysis has been performed, the analysis moves on to the other levels. The study of the relations between contextual categories and language is the true study of semantics for Firth (1935/57: 27). The step-by-step analyses are needed because the meanings of texts, utterances, words 'cannot be achieved at one fell swoop by one analysis at one level' (Firth 1957b/68: 174). Meanings disperse like 'light of mixed wavelengths in spectrum' (Firth 1957b/68: 174) and only multiple analyses of texts capture this dispersion. How exactly and in what order the Firthian levels are to be related to one another in the analyses has been open to various interpretations (see Allen 1956; Robins 1963; Oyelaran 1967). The order of analyses does not seem to matter so much as the fact that all of the levels will be studied, because each level in its own way contributes to the meaning of a text (Firth 1951b/57: 192).

Two general kinds of theoretical relations are recognized in Firth's linguistic analyses, syntagmatic and paradigmatic (see Firth 1957b/68: 200). Syntagmatic relations specify how meanings in texts are compositions of language forms as structures. Structures are generated at various levels (phonological, syntactic, etc.), each kind of structure consisting of elements of its own type. Paradigmatic relations are set up between features or terms of systems which specify the values of the elements in the structures. Whether the syntagmatic and paradigmatic principles of relations also apply to context of situation is not presented clearly, or at least not illustrated clearly, in Firth's

theory. Judging by what has been written in Firth (1957b/68: 200), the contextual level also appears to be seen in terms of system and structure.

There remains one important aspect of Firth's theory to mention, before presenting an example of a Firthian analysis of service encounters and summing up the theory in the context of this book. This is the concept of renewal of connection in experience' (see e.g. Firth 1951a/57). Firth's view is that a text is not only considered as a constituent of the context of situation but, furthermore, it 'should be related to an observable and justifiable grouped set of events in the run of experience (Firth 1957b/68: 175). When we are involved in a social event and are realizing a social process linguistically, we, as members of that speech community, relate the on-going text to the previous texts which we have experienced during our lives. That is, the text renews connection with the linguistic events in the similar contexts of situation in the community (cf. 'intertextuality', e.g. in de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981; Lemke 1985).

This similarity of contexts for texts can be used as a method of recognizing and classifying texts as types. Once an analysis of a text renews connection with analyses of other texts, it can linguistically be stated if the text is of the same type as the others. Firth's theory has its feet sturdily on the ground in its study of observable texts and how they renew connection with other texts produced in the same situational and cultural context.

1.2 A CONTEXTUAL CHARACTERIZATION OF SERVICE ENCOUNTER

Especially in the 1960s, when the time was not yet ripe for contextual studies of texts, Firth's views faced a lot of criticism (Lyons 1966; Langendoen 1968; Leech 1974: 71). Today some of this criticism has been revaluated in the context of pragmatic studies (see Leech 1974/81: 61; Leech 1983: 2). The worth of the theory to this study is best shown by Mitchell's (1957/75) illustration of Firthian contextualization of language in buying and selling encounters (for illustrations of other aspects of the theory, see Firth 1957; Allen 1956; Palmer 1968; Bazell *et al.* 1966; Mitchell 1975).

Mitchell's (1957/75) study represents an early attempt to come to grips with how service encounters are related to one another in terms of linguistically realized staging (here generic structures). Mitchell's aim is to discover systematic correlations between text and context in three different, but related, genres: market auction, market transaction and shop transaction. The sub-categories are recognized on the basis of the kind of staging of activities, arising in the three contexts of situations, and their linguistic realizations. Figure 1.1 summarizes Mitchell's discussion.

As Figure 1.1 shows, all the mentioned service encounters share INVESTIGATION-OF-OBJECT-OF-SALE and CONCLUSION. AUCTIONEER'S-OPENING and BIDDING differentiate market auctions from transactions, which include ENQUIRY-OF-OBJECT-OF-SALE and BARGAINING. Transactions are further differentiated on the basis of inclusion of SALUTATIONS in shop transactions SALUTATION is practically a must, whereas in market transactions it is optional (as shown by the parentheses).

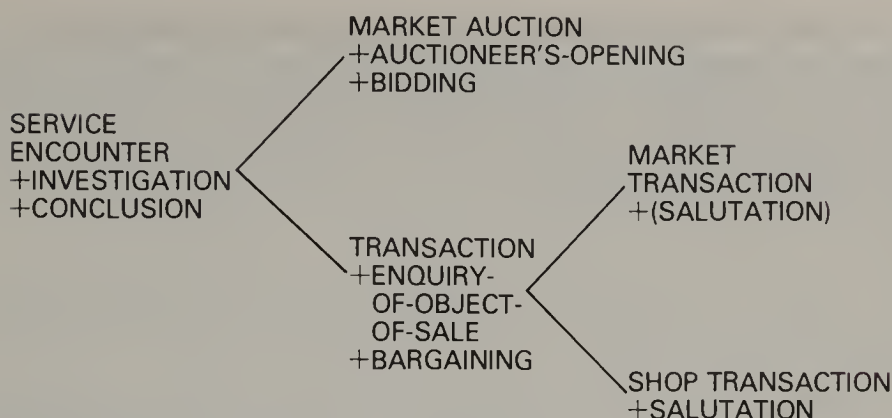


Figure 1.1 A contextual characterization of service encounters

The canonical sequence of elements for auctions seems to be: AUCTIONEER'S-OPENING ^ INVESTIGATION-OF-OBJECT-OF-SALE ^ BIDDING CONCLUSION (Mitchell 1957/75: 176; ^ = is followed by). The sequence for market and shop transactions seems to be: SALUTATIONS ^ ENQUIRY-OF-OBJECT-OF-SALE ^ INVESTIGATION-OF-OBJECT-OF-SALE-BARGAINING ^ CONCLUSION (Mitchell 1957/75: 178). The sequencing 'does not necessarily correspond to a successive order in time' (Mitchell 1957/75: 180), e.g. INVESTIGATION-OF-OBJECT-OF-SALE and BARGAINING may take place simultaneously since the former can be realized non-verbally, or *What have you been offered for it?* of BARGAINING may follow immediately *Is this . . . for sale?* of ENQUIRY-OF-THE-OBJECT-OF-SALE. Here Mitchell is faced with one of the problems of description of discourse analysis: how can the dynamic unfolding of discourse in text instances be represented without losing sight of the canonical order of the interactional genre to which the instances belong? Mitchell does not address the problem, but many of the later discourse analysts and textlinguists have pondered over the dynamic unfolding of interactions (see the other sections of Chapter 1), and of course it is one of the interests of this book as well (see Chapter 3).

From the point of view of the present research it seems unfortunate that the worth of Mitchell's work has not been widely recognized. Because of lack of modern recording equipment, his study is naturally limited to observations. Mitchell's interest in genre typology is genuine (although he himself does not use this term). He looks for and finds lexical and grammatical evidence for the different realizations of staging in the service encounters studied.

Contextual analysis, as exemplified in Mitchell's work, aims at representing social meanings as a combination of functions contextualized simultaneously, not only on the situational level but also on linguistic levels. Each of these levels contributes to the meaning of a text as it unfolds as a social process in a situation. This approach naturally contrasts markedly with the linguistic theories where meaning is a function on one level only—semantics. In a Firthian view, a statement of meaning of a text is, in fact, 'statements of meanings of a text', which are then tested against the observable facts by renewal of connection.

The discussion about the nature, the number and the relationship of levels continues, as exemplified by this book. Both Malinowski's and Firth's legacies to this book are tangible. Social interactions will be studied paradigmatically and syntagmatically by multilevel analyses which aim to capture the different kinds of cultural and situational meanings which the linguistic and non-linguistic systems realize in texts.

1.3 TOWARDS A FUNCTIONAL VIEW OF TEXT AS A REALIZATION OF ACTION

In the 1950s and 1960s the Chomskyan theory carried on the legacy of looking at language in abstraction and considering language behaviour as a phenomenon governed by rules and stored in the speakers' brains (for a survey of the development, see Newmeyer 1980; for criticism, see Searle 1974; Landesman 1972; Robinson 1975; Matthews 1979). Owing to different research interests (competence, sentence-based, context independent), neither the standard transformational-theory (Chomsky 1957, 1965) nor its later developments (Chomsky 1976, 1977, 1981) have shown any interest in the generic features of texts. Transformational theory is not interested in how, in pursuing various social purposes, interactants combine utterances into such globally functional texts as newspaper articles, poems, recipes, service encounters, classroom interactions, doctor–patient interviews, etc.

Chomskyan linguistics can be criticized for not recognizing that language is used for doing something, for realizing activity. This cannot, however, be said of the other major tradition of the 1960s, the philosophy of language, where language as doing has received considerable attention. Both Austin (1962/75) and Searle (1969) have a strong functional orientation to how acts are performed in utterances (locutions, illocutions, perlocutions). But, although 'a conception of language . . . [where] a theory of language is part of a theory of action' (Searle 1969: 17) initially sounds promising for the present concern of global structures of social encounters and their linguistic realizations, it ultimately leads to disappointments. In spite of its functional orientation, philosophy of language has shown no interest in what this book is concerned with: the way members of a society behave linguistically in certain types of social encounters and what generalizations are to be made from the unfolding of their behaviour.

Approximately at the same time as Chomskyan linguistics advances in its competence studies and language philosophers begin to consider words and sentences from a functional point of view, a more textually orientated approach is promoted by the ethnography of speaking (anthropologically orientated) and ethnomethodology (sociologically orientated). Both are fairly close to the previously presented Malinowskian–Firthian tradition in that they encourage the study of language as a means of social interaction and communication in heterogeneous speech communities. The focus of attention is on how language is used to express cultures and social structures in speech communities.

1.3.1 Ethnography of speaking and ethnomethodology

The ethnography of speaking is concerned with the study of forms and speech as an activity in situations in different cultures (Hymes 1962/74, 1964/72, 1971, 1971/72). Anthropology recognizes types of linguistic actions, for example 'pray, curse, reproach, taunt, invoke, gossip, answer, instruct, report, joke, insult, greet, take leave, announce, interpret, advise, preach, command, inquire, duel verbally, etc.' (Hymes 1971: 71), but has not developed systematic methods for describing their linguistic characteristics. This is where ethnographically based linguistics, where speaking is seen as 'situated and purposive' can help (Hymes 1971: 70). Hymes proposes a method of investigation of ethnographic data where anthropological and linguistic interests meet.

An ethnographer's objects of study are speech events (a notion comparable with text), which he categorizes into recognizable types according to (1) the names given by members of the community (Sunday morning service, inaugural address, pledge of allegiance); (2) colloquial expressions (heart-to-heart-talk, salestalk, talk man-to-man, woman's talk, bull session, chat, polite conversation, chatter); and (3) verbs, phrases and sentences used to characterize the events (nice talk, couldn't get a word in edgeways, cussing out) (Hymes 1962/74: 198–9). The speech events recognized are analysed for their component factors: (1) sender; (2) receiver; (3) message form; (4) channel; (5) code; (6) topic; and (7) setting (Hymes 1962/74: 198) (cf. Firth's categories above). The factors are correlated with the functions of speech: (1) expressive (or emotive); (2) directive (or conative, pragmatic, rhetorical, persuasive); (3) poetic; (4) contact; (5) metalinguistic; (6) referential; and (7) contextual (or situational) (Hymes 1962/74: 204). The correlations established between the component factors and functions of speech in speech events enable the ethnographer to define which contextual factor influences or determines the use of a particular linguistic pattern or form and, consequently, to classify particular instances to classes of speech events.

Hymes' speech event classification methodology appears to be closer to the traditional notion of register (see Section 3.2 below) than to genre, as it has been introduced in this book. In other words, Hymes pays very little attention to the staging of social encounters, i.e. how people achieve goals/purposes using language in contexts, which in this study will be argued to be crucial for the recognition of genres of social interaction (the term genre in fact appears in Hymes' later writings as a factor of speech events and captures the spontaneous/non-spontaneous or spoken/written distinctions (see e.g. Hymes 1971: 65–6)).

The goals of ethnomethodology, which has produced a considerable amount of analyses of spoken, small-group interactions and telephone conversations, appear to be close to the present interest, as shown in the quotation below:

The ethnomethodologist in trying to describe the component features of the materials at hand, . . . is trying to produce 'practical purpose descriptions' of members' activities; ways of describing the structure and organisation of those activities and social practises

as work done by members in accomplishing the scenes of daily life . . . the aim is to describe the work members do and the procedures they use to construct a sense of social order [Benson & Hughes 1983: 128–9].

Several ‘contact points’ can be picked up between the ethnomethodological interests listed above and the interests of this book: ‘component features’ of texts, ‘the structure and organisation of social activities and practises’, ‘social order’. Especially interesting in the present context is to see how language in ethnomethodological research is perceived to establish structure and order. This aspect of ethnomethodology is better known as conversation analysis.

Conversation analysis concentrates on drawing principles, or ‘systematics’, of conversation from actual spoken data by unravelling the on-going social and conversational activities displayed in the language used (Sacks *et al.* 1974). Two hypotheses are presented as guidelines for research: (1) conversation has organization and (2) the organization can be detected in the recordings of any kinds of conversations (see Benson & Hughes 1983: 156). The focus is on how interactants structure their conversational activities and social reality² by turn-taking, adjacency-pairs, side sequences, topical analyses and also by overall structures in conversations (for detailed discussions, see Schegloff 1968/72; Schegloff & Sacks 1973/74; Sacks *et al.* 1974; Jefferson 1972; Zimmermann & West 1975/78; Benson & Hughes 1983: 154–91; Levinson 1983: 284–370). All these aspects are also the foci of this book, although under different headings. Turn-taking, adjacency-pairs and side sequences are all aspects of how interactants construct their exchanges in texts (Chapter 4). Topical analysis is roughly captured in the experiential structures generated by LEXICAL COHESION (Chapter 5). As these aspects will be discussed in detail later, the focus here will be only on the overall structures in conversation, or the global, generic structures, as they are referred to in this study.

Conversations in ethnomethodology are ‘interactional episodes recognised by members and, as such, are segmented events which are marked off in some fashion with beginnings, middles and ends’ (Benson & Hughes 1983: 162). A similarity to the notion of a generic structure of a text is recognizable here. But the ethnomethodological description of overall structures remains rather inexplicit. Schegloff & Sacks (1973/74), for example, discuss the opening and closing episodes in telephone conversations, but do not present a theory of what happens in the middle of the telephone conversations (see also Benson & Hughes 1983: 162–72). Sometimes reference to the topical functions of the middles of conversations is made, for example ‘making arrangements for a later meeting, an enquiry about the progress of somebody’s illness, or returning of a call to someone who had phoned earlier’ (Benson & Hughes 1983: 168; see also Levinson 1983: 308–18). These middle functions may possibly be understood as some kind of generic elements of telephone conversations. But no attempt is made to describe how the middle functions differ from one another, how they are realized linguistically and how they contribute to the classification of texts as particular types. It seems that ethnomethodologists have adopted the term telephone conversation as a generic label, whereas the

telephone is perhaps better understood purely as a channel used for realizing many genres. The mere fact that the telephone acts as a medium does not help us to distinguish business calls from friendly chats. Many social activity types, genres, may unfold in telephone conversations. We may chat, listen to news, buy things, exchange recipes, make appointments, and so on by using the phone. There are, however, two ethnographical/methodological studies which are immediately relevant to the subject matter of this book and thus worth exploring further.

Churchill and Grey (1974) are interested in the 'microanalysis' of one specific 'macroelement' in the genre of auctions, that of BIDDING-SOLICITATION. However, they do also informally present a canonical sequence of elements for auctions (note that no analyses of the linguistic patternings in the elements realizing the social process are presented, except for BIDDING; cf. Mitchell 1957/75): DESCRIPTION/IDENTIFICATION-OF-ITEM ^ BIDDING-SOLICITATION ^ SELLING ^ PAYMENT (Churchill & Grey 1974: 213). When compared with Mitchell's (1957/75) presentation of auction elements and their canonical sequencing, some differences are noticed. No specific AUCTIONEER'S-OPENING is recognized and SELLING and PAYMENT seems to cover Mitchell's CONCLUSION. What the comparison immediately demonstrates is the difficulty which a discourse analyst faces in drawing up boundaries between the specific elements that make up the social process in question. Consequently, it is of utmost importance that the categories set up on the global level are justifiable on the linguistic levels, as Mitchell has suggested and demonstrated (this principle will be followed in Part II of this book where justification for generic elements is searched from the structures generated by the discourse systems).

Merritt's study aims 'to identify some range of recurring activity' (1974: 205) and to offer 'a treatment of some patterns of talk that occur in service encounters' (1976: 315). Merritt's microanalytical approach only focuses on a small-notions-store, where cigarettes, magazines, newspapers, school supplies, cosmetic items, small houseware and hardware items, etc., are sold (Merritt 1974: 199). Even though Merritt's focus is limited in this way and genre typology is not specifically discussed, some useful information on what sets the small-notions-store apart from other agnate (related) service encounters can be drawn from the analyses. Merritt's views are summarized in Figure 1.2.

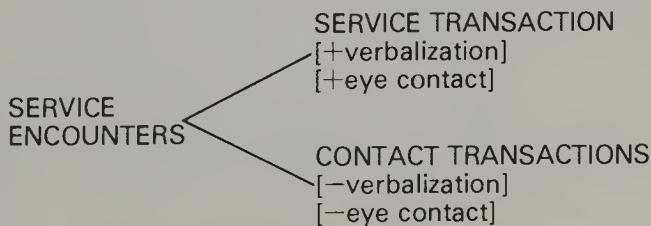


Figure 1.2 An ethnomethodological characterization of service encounters

Such contact transactions as self-service supermarkets are set apart from service transactions in small-notions-stores in terms of $+/-$ verbalization and $+/-$ eye contact (Merritt 1974: 206) (cf. Mitchell's functional staging).

The staging in service encounters is represented by Merritt (1976: 345) as a canonical sequence of speech acts unfolding in time. The sequence is remotely reminiscent of the flow chart representation that will be presented in Chapter 3. The principle of Merritt's account of how speech acts begin to flow in a service encounter is illustrated below (S = Server, C = Customer, ' $\rightarrow$ ' and ' $\leftarrow$ ' signal the directionality of speech acts):

- $S \rightarrow C$ tacit offer of service (presence in service area)
 - $S \leftarrow C$ tacit request for service (presence in service area)
 - $S \rightarrow C$ formal offer of service (*may I help you?* etc.)
 - $S \leftarrow C$ request for availability (*do you have . . . ?/do you sell . . . ?*)
 - then either
 - $S \rightarrow C$ positive response (*yes*)
 - or
 - $S \rightarrow C$ negative response (*no, we ran out*), etc.
- (see Merritt 1976: 345)

If each of the speech acts is considered to realize a generically specific stage/ an element, the description of generic qualities of texts would be a description of canonical order of speech acts. Describing many texts of the same type in terms of speech acts and their sequences can be considered almost an impossibility. That genre typology involves something more abstract and larger in composition than speech acts can easily be illustrated by what Merritt has called a 'formal offer of service' (*may I help you?*). Merritt's representation does not take into account that 'offers of service' are not always presented. Sometimes C has to entice an offer by saying, for example, *Excuse me, could you help me with . . .* or *I'd like some help, please*. In this case S would most likely respond *yes, sure*. Here there are already two speech acts which both concern 'the bidding for service'. The third speech act, also concerned with the same act of reassuring service, would be C 's *thank you*. The latter speech act Merritt (1976: 344–6) in fact discusses, although it does not appear in the canonical order given by Merritt (see above). C 's 'acceptance of service' is a 'recoverably deletable' second pair part of an adjacency pair of 'offer service'. It is deleted for 'maximal appropriateness' and therefore need not be represented in the canonical order of speech acts in service encounters. How C 's initial enticement or prompt of the service offer would be treated in Merritt's approach is not clear. It is obvious that a sequence ' C : *excuse me, could you help me with . . . ?* ^ S : *yes sure* ^ C : *thank you*' does not conveniently fit the ethnomethodological adjacency pair description. It seems justifiable to suggest that all three speech acts are realizations of an abstract semiotic category, the element SERVICE BID of service encounters. Setting up SERVICE BID as a semiotic category enables the discourse analyst to observe the different ways speech acts in texts are used to realize a particular semiotic stage of the social process in the genre of service encounters.

To summarize, Merritt no doubt has a sense for variation and dynamic nature of the unfolding of service encounters as texts. But the typical speech act sequence representation will not be able to capture sufficiently the dynamic aspects of generating service encounter interaction, although some possibilities for recursing and skipping speech acts are built into the model (e.g. *anything else?/will that be all?* may lead to a new request for availability of goods and *no, we ran out* will lead to a ritual closing). Representing generic structures of service encounters in terms of speech acts and created adjacency pairs will not provide a powerful enough description to capture the various possibilities of combining speech acts in service encounter talk in a completely natural way. A more abstract, underlying concept of semiotic organization of service encounter interaction appears to be needed.

1.3.2 Functional considerations in early systemic theory

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Malinowskian–Firthian contextual considerations continued in scale and category linguistics, which later developed into systemic linguistics. Paying tribute to Firth's 'spectrum view of language', early systemicists present a linguistic theory comprising of the following levels and interlevels (see e.g. Halliday 1961; Halliday *et al.* 1964): SUBSTANCE—PHONOLOGY—FORM—CONTEXT—SITUATION. Substance, form and situation are the primary levels. Phonology and context are interlevels which, together with the level of form, constitute the linguistic levels. As the major interest of this book is in social interactions and their unfolding, the immediate concern here is the theoretical categories which are set out to relate linguistic forms to extralinguistic situations on the level of context (for other levels, see e.g. Halliday 1961, 1967, 1970; Halliday *et al.* 1964; McIntosh & Halliday 1966; Sinclair 1972; Muir 1972; Berry 1975, 1977; Monaghan 1979; Steiner 1983; Butler 1985) (note that the term context rather than semantics is preferred for the third level: see Halliday 1961: 245; later, however, semantics reappears in Halliday's writing: see Halliday 1978).

That the level of context is necessary when studying language use in situations is unanimously agreed upon by early systemicists. But when one reads books and articles published in the 1960s on contextual level one becomes perplexed. It is difficult to see what precisely is meant by contextual level; no unified, systematized presentation is given (cf. e.g. Halliday *et al.* 1964; Catford 1965; McIntosh & Halliday 1966; Ellis 1966; Ellis & Ure 1969; Gregory 1967). Whereas scale and category linguists have striven for the paradigmatic and syntagmatic descriptions on the levels of phonology and form, no ambition to describe context in Firthian terms of system and structure is found (Catford gives an example of what is perceived as a contextual system but does not elaborate further: see Catford 1965: 5).

Probably the most coherent account of the categories of context and of situation and their relation to the level of form is given by Gregory (1967). He defines situation and context as follows:

By SITUATION is meant the study of those extra-textual features, linguistic and non-linguistic, which have high potential relevance to statements of meaning about the texts

of language events. By *CONTEXT* is understood the correlations of formally described linguistic features, groupings of such features within texts and abstracted from them, with those situational features themselves constantly recurrent and relevant to the understanding of language events [Gregory 1967: 177–8; my emphasis].

The correlations between situation and context result in two kinds of linguistic variation: dialectal and diatypic. From the point of text typology it is the diatypic variation of language which is of interest here (for dialectal variation, see Gregory 1967). Diatypic variation is determined by situational categories of (1) the purposive role; (2) the medium relationship; and (3) the addressee relationship, which has two aspects—(a) the personal and (b) the functional relationship. The systematic correlations between the situational categories and the contextual categories are: (1) Field of discourse (what is going on or what is being discussed, e.g. technical/non-technical); (2) Mode of discourse (the channels selected for language manifestation in situations, e.g. written/spoken; for more delicate distinctions, see Gregory 1967); and (3) Tenor of discourse, with the aspects of (a) Personal tenor (attitudinal and other stylistic differences in situations, e.g. formal/informal); and (b) Functional tenor (participants' purposes for using language, e.g. didactic/non-didactic). The linguistic reflections of the above-mentioned correlations are the 'recurrent characteristics of user's *USE* of language in situations' (Gregory 1967: 185). In short, the situational features are carried over to the level of form by the correlations of the intermediating contextual factors with the situational factors. It is on the basis of these correlations that different diatypic variations or register variations in texts are recognized.

But even though the theoretical framework of the correlations seems relatively straightforward, in practice register characterization has not proved so easy and even today one is forced to ask: what kind of entity is register? In Reid (1956: 32–3), where the term register first appeared, it refers to 'types of linguistic behaviour in situations', for example 'familiar intercourse, administration, religion, ceremonial language and literary language'. Examples of register given by early systemicists include: sports commentary, church service, school lesson, advertisement, recipe, prescription, fashion reporting, popular songs, scientific registers, academic seminars, hairdressers' language, playing games, weather forecasts (Halliday *et al.* 1964: 88). In many of these examples one can perceive the kind of purposeful unfolding of a social process which has been discussed in the Introduction. Does the register theory account for this? It does not appear to do so.

The early systemicists undoubtedly aim at a theory of text typology in terms of register typology (cf. the ethnography of speaking). Register theory is interested in recognizing types of social interactions and proceeds to capture the typeness by presupposing an intermediate level of context, the categories of which interface the linguistic categories and the situational categories. The result of the interfacing in instances of texts is reflected in the lexical, grammatical and phonological/orthographical patternings throughout the whole texts and consequently these patternings determine the register classification. For example, a lesson in a textbook could be considered a register

where the features of Technical/Written/Formal/Didactic language are manifested throughout the text in the lexicogrammatical and phonological realizations (further examples of these kinds of 'distributed' formal realizations are to be found in Benson & Greaves 1973, 1981; Gregory & Carroll 1978).

No attention, however, seems to have been given in the register theory to the fact that social encounters also have their specific ways of unfolding and that this unfolding may specifically influence the way linguistic patterns are manifested differently at each stage, when the discourse unfolds (as discussed in Malinowski's lagoon fishing example). We not only recognize social encounter types, but within these types there are also 'typical ways' of unfolding the social activity in question. Thus, our interest is not only in differentiating between the types on the basis of the formal qualities, but also in 'the linguistic progression of the social activity' within one type, i.e. how language is used at each stage when the unfolding of the social process is manifested in instances which belong to the same type of social encounters. One can say that scale and category linguists simply experimented with the concepts of situation, context and register rather than offered a solid theory. Nevertheless, this lengthy discussion on these concepts has been considered necessary: firstly, because the early systemicists are among the first who are committed to the study of functional variation of language in situations and, secondly, because these concepts are developed further in systemic linguistics in the 1970s and 1980s, and a historical perspective is helpful for understanding these developments. It is in these later developments of systemic theory that one comes somewhat closer to an understanding of the unfoldings of social processes as texts.

1.4 FOCUSING ON OVERALL TEXT—AND DISCOURSE STRUCTURES

Generally, from the 1970s onwards, text is established as the object of study in linguistics interested in language USE and one of the aspects to which attention is directed is the global aspect in texts. The contemporary advances in this area will be discussed selectively below.

1.4.1 Setting up narrative structures

Initially, probably the most influential work on global structures in texts has been Labov and Waletzky's (1967) and Labov's (1972) work on vicarious experience narratives of interviewees. A narrative is defined as a 'method of recapitulating experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which . . . actually occurred' (Labov 1972: 359–60). Thus the overall structure of a vicarious narrative consists of a sequence of verbally expressed elements, which represent the events in the 'real world'. Each element has a function to carry in a narrative. The elements recognized are: ABSTRACT, ORIENTATION, COMPLICATION, EVALUATION, RESOLUTION and CODA. This listing also represents the canonical sequencing

of elements in a narrative. Labov and Waletzky are, strictly speaking, not interested in the phenomenon of generic structure and its ontogenesis but are rather concerned with how various speakers from different age, social and racial groups succeed in making the points of stories clear (Labov 1972: 370).

From the perspective of present interests some questions remain open in the approach described above. Firstly, it is obvious that the structural elements of genres cannot only be motivated in terms of the 'real world' activities. For example, stories where events are imagined can be told. Secondly, more attention has to be given to the question of how the structural elements (their presence/absence) actually define a genre and differentiate between different genres (some interesting work in this area has been done by Martin & Rothery 1980, 1981 and certainly this book aims to throw some light on the matter; see also Christie 1984; Martin 1986). Furthermore, even though frequently our social behaviour follows canonical or stereotyped realization, social semiotics of a society allow its members considerable variation possibilities in the unfolding of genres. To discover the degrees of variation in generic structures and to account for them is also one of the aims of this book. Finally, it must be noted that constructing structural elements of a genre interactively is natural in many genres, for example in a service encounter. Even narratives can be constructed jointly (see Becker *et al.* 1978; Dittmar & Thielecke 1979). Thus, the analyses developed for generic studies of texts must be able to handle both monologic and dialogic texts.

1.4.2 Superstructures in rule-governed textlinguistics

Van Dijk's text grammar is transformational-generative in nature and involves textual rewrite rules and transformations (van Dijk 1972, 1977, 1978/80, 1979, 1980, 1981; for reviews, see e.g. Larsson 1978; Pierrehumbert 1980; Brown & Yule 1983). The central level is semantics which assigns not only meanings to sentences in terms of semantic propositions, but also global meanings to sequences of sentences in terms of macropropositions, which are recognized as semantic macrostructures in texts. These structures capture the topical continuity and coherence in texts (van Dijk 1977: 6). Thus, a double interpretation of texts is suggested: sentence semantics and sentence sequence semantics. The way macrostructures are obtained is by such semantic mapping rules as deletion, generalization, selection and construction, which reduce and integrate semantic propositional content into semantic macrostructural propositional content (for details and examples, see e.g. van Dijk 1977: 143–8; van Dijk & Kintsch 1977: 68–9). The rules operate 'until the most general macrostructure of a discourse is reached' (van Dijk 1977: 7).

The second central level in a text grammar is pragmatics (van Dijk 1977: 190). Speech acts in interactive texts are pragmatic actions, which function globally when sequenced, e.g. 'we may accomplish a macrospeech act by accomplishing a certain sequence of speech acts, e.g. in a letter, a request

letter etc.' (van Dijk 1979: 519). Macrospeech acts are also generated by transformational rules and are recognized as pragmatic macrostructures in texts. Thus, also the level of pragmatics has a double interpretation: speech act pragmatics and speech act sequence pragmatics (whether such a double description is in fact motivated and justifiable will not be discussed here, since it is neither the semantic nor the pragmatic macrostructures that are directly in focus here, but see e.g. Brown & Yule 1983: 106–16).

The semantic and pragmatic macrostructures in turn relate systematically to the third kind of global structures, to superstructures of texts which play an important role in cognitive psychological text processing and text comprehension (van Dijk & Kintsch 1977, 1983). Superstructures, which are semiotic in nature (van Dijk 1980: 112) and are used for discourse typology, seem in certain respects similar to generic structures. Thus, the specific interest in van Dijk's work here is in superstructures of texts and evaluating the notion in the light of the present task at hand.

Van Dijk's work has appropriately drawn attention to the kind of conventionalized, schematic superstructures found in texts. The starting-point for superstructural discourse typology is some basic general superstructural categories and their sequences in texts (van Dijk 1980: 110–11) (cf. deep structure categories and phrase structures in the TG-model and their universalistic nature). Such general functional components would be INTRODUCTION, PROBLEM, SOLUTION, EVALUATION and CONCLUSION and their canonical order would be as listed. In van Dijk (1978/80: 139) even a more basic form than above is given: *BEDINGUNG ^ FOLGE*.³ From the 'base', all the other types of superstructural categories are generated and sequenced by transformational rules. The derived superstructures form two major groups.

Firstly, there are semantic superstructures, examples of which are narratives, argumentations, scientific papers and newspaper articles (van Dijk 1980: 110). Also in these classes of discourse there are basic superstructural categories and sequences. A narrative offers an example. It is seen in terms of a hierarchical constituency structure where the basic constituents and the canonical sequence is: SETTING ^ COMPLICATION ^ RESOLUTION ^ EVALUATION ^ MORAL (or CODA) (from Labov & Waletzky). Additionally, categories are introduced which play no role in the superstructural order of elements in texts, but which define the hierarchical constituency structure of a narrative, e.g. COMPLICATION and RESOLUTION are seen as constituents of HAPPENING, which, together with EVALUATION, is in turn a constituent of EPISODE. The following rewrite rules define the above-mentioned basic categories and the canonical order for narratives (van Dijk 1980: 116):

NARRATIVE → PLOT + MORAL
 PLOT → SETTING + EPISODE
 EPISODE → HAPPENING + EVALUATION
 HAPPENING → COMPLICATION + RESOLUTION.

Elsewhere, however, a slightly different version of the constituency rewrite rules for narratives is given, although the final categories and the canonical

sequence are the same (van Dijk 1978/80: 143). For example, EVALUATION in one representation is seen as an immediate constituent of EPISODE and in another as a constituent of GESCHICHTE, which is itself, according to van Dijk (1978/80: 142) a mere 'terminus technicus'. No explanation is provided for the different accounts of the narrative hierarchy. Such discrepancies in representation and weak motivations make van Dijk's categories suspect.

The hierarchical categories and the rewrite rules given above are considered to define the basic narrative type, from which other narrative discourses, jokes, myths, folkstories, sagas and legends, and yet further types, such literary narratives as short stories, novels, drama, etc., are derived by transformational rules of addition, deletion, reordering and replacement, which alter the shape of the original canonical narrative schemata (van Dijk 1978/80: 131, 140; 1980: 113). No systematic analysis of a number of texts of the same derived type is offered by van Dijk. But as an example of the effect of the envisaged transformations, van Dijk mentions detective stories which begin with a COMPLICATION, and a SETTING is provided later (see the story analysed in van Dijk 1980).

The other type of superstructures are pragmatic superstructures, exemplified by everyday conversations, meetings, interviews, court proceedings and lectures (van Dijk 1980: 196). Van Dijk has considerably less to say about the superstructures of these dialogic, interactive discourse types than the superstructures of monologic, written discourse types. For everyday conversations very general categories are proposed: GREETING, INQUIRY, TOPIC (consisting of TOPIC IDENTIFICATION and TOPIC DISCUSSION), TOPIC CLOSING (including THANKS). The canonical sequence approximates the listing above. The example, which van Dijk (1980: 196–7) uses to demonstrate the pragmatic superstructure of everyday conversations, is a constructed one (for a functional analysis of the global structures found in authentic casual conversations, see Ventola 1979). A second genre discussed hypothetically by van Dijk (1980: 197–8) is that of formal meetings, where the following canonical sequence of elements is found: OPENING ^ ASSESSMENT ^ TOPIC DISCUSSION ^ DECISIONS ^ QUESTIONS ^ CLOSING (for committee talk, see also Stubbs 1973; Coulthard 1981). No hierarchical constituency rules or tree are presented for pragmatic superstructures in everyday conversations or meetings. Neither does van Dijk elaborate any of the transformational rules needed to account for the structures other than the canonical ones.

Specifically problematic in van Dijk's theory seems to be the interrelation between the semantic and pragmatic levels and their relation to superstructures, which are considered semiotic (van Dijk 1980: 112).⁴ At one point van Dijk (1980: 198) suggests that 'each discourse may be organized at the global level in four ways: semantic macro- and superstructures and pragmatic macro- and superstructures'. But the principles, under which circumstances discourses have all four structures and under which only one or two types of structures are inexplicit. Superstructures are said not to be a necessary feature of all texts, since macrostructures can partly cater for the global organization of texts (van Dijk 1978/80: 152). But at the same time superstructures are stated to be a necessary concept which 'imposes

constraints on the macrostructure' (van Dijk 1980: 122). Certain circularity and obscurity remains in the relationship between superstructures and macrostructures. It seems that speech act sequences frequently involve a four-way description, whereas the texts which involve semantic macro- and superstructures have only a two-way description (e.g. narratives) (van Dijk 1980: 27). The distinction between the semantic and pragmatic superstructures seems to be motivated superficially by the crudest *MODE* differences in texts: the discourse types which have semantically orientated superstructures are either written/monologic texts, whereas the pragmatically orientated superstructure examples list interactive/dialogic discourse types.

Some critical remarks of superstructural theory have already been made above. Generally, van Dijk's account of superstructures can be criticized for lack of convincing textual demonstration of the basic superstructure types and for not showing in practice how the posited superstructural transformations are performed. The texts that are analysed are usually of the conventional type or are constructed and usually only one text is analysed to illustrate the point. The theory is, however, truly tested only when several texts are systematically analysed for the categories. Moreover, the relationship between the superstructural categories and the linguistic levels is only exemplified in detail on the semantic level and less so on the pragmatic level. But systematic relationships can also be hypothesized between the superstructures and the lexicogrammatical and phonological levels. Also, van Dijk works with an interpretative model which takes the form of a text as given and in need of interpretation. However, when texts are being created, the superstructural ordering cannot be taken as given for the whole of the discourse. Rather, it must be seen as a process which unfolds dynamically, i.e. from stage to stage as the discourse is developed by the interactant(s). One may therefore question whether the transformational model is indeed the best for capturing the variety found in the unfolding of generic structures. Further, one of the major criticisms that can be directed towards van Dijk's text grammar approach is that it, for the major part, can only deal with the 'representational' or 'content' aspect of language, or what in systemic linguistics is known as 'ideational' (see e.g. Halliday 1978). The pragmatic component so far represents poorly that function of language which in systemic theory is called 'interpersonal'. For example, the ethnomethodologists seem to have a much richer view of what is going on interpersonally in conversation than van Dijk has, although they tend not to pay much attention to global structures either. The 'textual' side of language remains obscure in the theory of superstructures (how do textual coherence and cohesion relate to superstructural categories?). Finally, van Dijk does not seem to be extremely perturbed by the question of what constitutes a text.

Van Dijk, however, does appropriately ask the question whether all texts have superstructures or not (van Dijk 1978/80: 134, 1980: 109–10). Texts which are frequent in a speech community (e.g. arguments, narratives) or which are institutionalized (e.g. legal documents, church services, court

proceedings) are more likely to have a conventionalized superstructure schemata than texts which are less frequent and less institutionalized. The answer must be provided by further studies: 'it is a task for empirical research to establish for each discourse type the possible superstructures' (van Dijk 1980: 110). The present study must be seen in the light of this statement. It forms a part of the empirical research needed to establish what kind of genres exist in societies, how they are realized in terms of unfolding of generic structures, what degree of variation exists in specific communities and how linguists can best capture what is going on when social interaction is realized linguistically as a text.

1.4.3 Global structures in conceptual procedural textlinguistics

De Beaugrande and Dressler (1981; henceforth B&D) have put forward a procedural model for text analysis, the aims of which partly coincide with the goals presented in the Introduction to this book. Firstly, it aims to account for how meanings and purposes are 'signalled' (realized) by the linguistic units in a text (B&D 1981: 33). Secondly, a text is seen as a product of a dynamic procedure or a process.

In the procedural model 'deep structures' of texts are network configurations of procedurally related cognitive concepts. The network is the textual world of the surface texts (B&D 1981: 108). Text creation is seen as a problem-solving procedure, the phases of which are: planning (a producer goal, e.g. distribution of knowledge, is pursued via text); ideation (content/idea is mapped on to plans); development (searching for stored content in the mind); expression (organizing the levels for expressing content); and finally parsing (linearization of expressions in the surface text) (B&D 1981: 39–40). The end product of the procedure is a text which meets seven communicative standards. A surface text must be: (1) cohesive (a grammatically connected sequence); (2) coherent (the concepts and relations that are represented in it must be relevant and mutually accessible to interactants); (3) intentional (it must fulfil producers' goals); (4) acceptable to its receivers; (5) informative (texts with 'low informativity' are boring and can be rejected by receivers); (6) situationally relevant; and, finally, (7) it must abide by the rules of intertextuality (it must be relatable to other texts which have previously been produced under similar circumstances and which are thus already known to the participants involved (see, B&D 1981: 3–11; each chapter in the book defines the standards in detail). If the standards are strongly violated, the text is not communicative and must be treated as non-text (B&D 1981: 34). The last standard, intertextuality, is set to relate an instance to the type and is potentially interesting from the point of view of text typology.

The notion of intertextuality is used to explain 'the evolution of text types as classes of texts with typical patterns of characteristics' (B&D 1981: 10). The relationship of intertextuality is established between texts that are produced to achieve similar goals under similar circumstances. Texts which have common global frameworks are classified into one type and the global

patterns control the range of linguistic options likely to be utilized in texts (see B&D 1981: 149). Such global knowledge patterns as frames, schemas, plans and scripts organize the conceptual knowledge content of texts in terms of topics (B&D 1981: 88, 90–1; cf. Schank & Abelson 1977). Confusing in B&D's presentation is that the global patterns are sometimes seen to function simultaneously in texts and sometimes it seems that a text type, or a genre, follows typically only one of these global patterns: descriptions are associated with frames, narratives with schemas, and argumentations with plans (a type for scripts, except that of Schank & Abelson's restaurant script, is not mentioned) (B&D 1981: 91, 124, 184).

But even when global knowledge patterns seem to be recognized, they do not seem to create reliable criteria for classifying texts into types. One of the major difficulties in text typology seems to be that '*many actualised instances do not manifest complete or exact characteristics of an ideal type*' (B&D 1981: 183; their italics). A poem and its frame organization may initially raise expectations of a sonnet in its readers. But the expectations are crushed by later modifications and it is found that the writer has been utilizing the text type expectation to execute his own plan with the result that a text looks like a sonnet, but is not a sonnet in its traditional generic sense (B&D 1981: 154–61). These questions of irregularities and modifications vs. of yielding to regularities and expectedness which have been raised by B&D (1981) are also of interest to this book and a solution will later be suggested to be found in the notions of genre mixing (leading up to the evolution of a new genre), genre embedding (where a text, or parts of a text, realizing a genre is embedded within another text which realizes a different genre) and genre switching (where participants start within a framework of one genre, but the course of events changes in the middle and thus the text ends up as a text of another genre) (see Chapter 3). The problem of the differences existing between the expected global structures of text types and the actual global structures manifested in text realizations of types is not solved in the procedural approach, which ultimately appeals to the immediate context for explanations. The 'real world' context may always override all the expectations set out by the conventional and conceptual systems involved (B&D 1981: 150). This suggestion cannot, however, be considered useful in the pursuit of classifying a text instance as a type. Rather, it is an admission that text typology is something undoable in a systematic way (see a remark on 'fuzziness' in B&D 1981: 183).

In evaluating the conceptual procedural approach to textlinguistics, one has to pay tribute to its treatment of text, not as a unit ready-made for analysis, but as an end-product of various processes. These processes are cognitive in nature and create a network of relations between knowledge concepts in texts. Brown and Yule (1983:121–4) have raised a number of criticisms concerning conceptual textlinguistics. Firstly, it can be questioned whether topics are representable with conceptual networks. Contrary to producers, the readers or the recipients of texts may have 'fewer of the formal conceptual relations in the proposed networks and more of the idiosyncratic, non-formal associative conceptual relations which defy the

analysis' (Brown & Yule 1983: 123). From the point of view of this study and of using the terminology introduced earlier, the main problem is that the conceptual networks only represent FIELD options and their organizations in texts. The choices which relate to TENOR and MODE, and their organization, are not represented by the networks and consequently are not accounted for in the procedural textlinguistics. Secondly, Brown and Yule criticize B&D (1981) for building up a theoretical conceptual approach on such a simple text as 'the rocket in the desert' (see B&D 1981: 98–103). Here the same criticism can be repeated, but from a specific angle. In text typology, it is dangerous to build up a theory by studying only one text instance of the proposed text type category. Thirdly, Brown and Yule doubt whether longer, more elaborate texts could be processed at one blow, as the conceptual network analysis seems to suggest. In the context of this study one is immediately forced to ask: what kind of 'staging' is implied and what are the units for such staging? In B&D (1981) no staging is suggested even for a text type which, following the adopted global knowledge pattern, should have one. In narratives the knowledge pattern of schema is seen to apply (B&D 1981: 184). The function of a schema is to order events and states into sequences temporally and causally (B&D 1981: 90). However, no elements or sequences representing such relations are presented in B&D (1981; cf. Labov & Waletzky and van Dijk). Also, a major problem in the application of the proposed global knowledge patterns to generic text typology seems to be that it is not made very clear under what circumstances text types apply only one global pattern instead of simultaneously, for example, all four types of global patterns. The final criticism from the point of view of this book is that B&D (1981) seem to ignore texts which are produced jointly by interactants. In examples like 'the rocket in the desert'—text the conceptual networks established by the procedures are presented to the recipients in the hope that they will be acceptable to the readers as complete wholes. In interactive texts such holistic conceptual networks do not exist ready-made, but rather texts are created by the participants jointly, building on what has just previously been said. The interactive text examples in B&D (1981) come from plays and dialogues in literary texts. The conceptual networks in these texts can again be presented as wholes to recipients because they are ready-made products, rather than interactively created social interaction. One can thus seriously question whether the procedural model has addressed itself to capturing the nature of the dynamic process of creating texts in various genres of social interaction.

1.4.4 Staging of interaction in pragmatics

Pragmatics has recently been acknowledged as a linguistic level. This recognition is at least partly due to the fact that the importance of contextual factors in recognizing speech act functions is now widely agreed upon and a level has been needed to account for such considerations. Thus, for example, Leech (1974: 71, 1974/81: 319), who once strongly opposed 'contextualism' and considered pragmatics as the 'ragbag of linguistics', has

recently argued that 'we cannot really understand the nature of language itself unless we understand pragmatics: how language is used for communication' (Leech 1983: 1). Here the interest in pragmatics lies neither in the theory as such, nor in whether pragmatics should be considered a linguistic level (Anglo-American pragmatics) or taken as a functional, contextual perspective on any level of linguistic structuring (Continental pragmatics, Verschueren 1985), but rather in finding out whether the recent pragmatic discussion introduces theories which account for genre typology of social interactions and generic structures of texts.

The search for pragmatic theories on text typology in such recent publications on pragmatics as Leech's *Principles of Pragmatics* (1983) and Levinson's *Pragmatics* (1983) leads, however, to disappointments. The global matters seem to be ignored by Leech. Levinson makes a promise of a potentially interesting account of social interaction structures in such headings as 'Conversational structure' and 'Overall organisation', but in fact nothing new is presented. Levinson simply promotes the inclusion of ethnomethodologists' work on overall structures into pragmatics (see 1.3.1 of this chapter). There is, however, one pragmatic approach to one type of social interaction genre and its unfolding in stages which is of specific interest here.

Ehlich and Rehbein's (1972; hereafter E&R 1972) pragmatic approach aims to come to grips with the way language realizes social interaction in a restaurant context. E&R (1972) are not very satisfied with the way speech philosophers have treated speech acts in isolation and demand that speech acts be put back into the context of social interaction (E&R 1972: 210). E&R develop an approach to restaurant interaction which follows the Marxist principles of 'production-circulation-consumption'. Such an approach first discovers the basic institutional constitution of the situation; i.e. who the participants are and what their goals, interests and obligations are. Thus, in a restaurant situation the customer represents the consumption party, the restaurant owner, the manager, the waiters and the cooks the production party. Waiters are responsible for the circulation. The institutional constitution and the respective interests and goals of participants then function as a motivating force for the unfolding structure of social interaction in a restaurant (E&R 1972: 215). For example, in restaurant interaction, the customer cannot walk into the kitchen and ask the cook for a meal or prepare himself a meal. This would be against the profit-making interests of the restaurant owner and the waiter (who is hoping to get a tip on top of his wages). This type of goal-and-interest motivated basis for restaurant interactions is very similar to the goal-orientated motivations proposed earlier to be generally valid for the structuring of social interaction (see Introduction).

The schematic representation of the unfolding of restaurant interaction is presented by a praxeogram (see E&R 1971: 225). The praxeogram of restaurant interaction involves decision points (e.g. *Karte wollen*, *Information wollen*, *Zahlen wollen*), actions (e.g. *Betreten*, *Umherblicken*, *Karte nehmen*, *Rechnungsaustellen*) and interactions (e.g. '*Karte wollen*', '*Information wollen*',

Beratung).⁵ Actions and interactions are called *pragmemes*. The *praxeogram* presents the unfolding interactively, i.e. a distinction is made between the decision points and actions which each participant performs, and the direction of the interaction flow is also indicated (e.g. customer to waiter, waiter to cook, etc.). The possibility of interrupting the process varies. At the beginning it is possible to leave the restaurant, for example, immediately after entering, or after having looked at the menu. But once the order has been taken, the customer cannot leave until the bill has been paid.

The *praxeogram* contrasts interestingly with a linear representation and a flowchart representation of the unfolding of social interactions which will be introduced later in 1.5.2 of this chapter and in Chapter 3. When compared with the linear representation of social interactions, the *praxeogram* certainly succeeds better in representing the to-and-fro aspect of social interaction. When paralleling the *praxeogram* with the flowchart representation, it appears that a flowchart has more 'dynamic potential'; that is, it allows more structural variation in the actual generic realizations (see Chapter 3). The *praxeogram* presents the following sequence of decision points, interactions and actions by the interactants as fixed: BESTELLUNG/AUFNAHME ^ WEITERGABE ^ PRODUKTION ^ AUSLIEFERUNG ^ AUFTRAGEN ^ ANNAHME ^ VERBRAUCHEN ^ ZAHLEN WOLLEN ^ 'ZAHLEN WOLLEN' ^ RECHNUNG AUSTELLEN ^ RECHNUNG PRÄSENTIEREN/RECHNUNG ERHALTEN ^ BEZAHLEN.⁶ This sequence is a *hyperpragmeme*. The *hyperpragmeme* is seen as genre defining for restaurant interactions: 'die Bedeutung des Hyperpragmemes zeigt sich darin, daß es der konstitutive *Kern* in der Handlungsabfolge für die verschiedensten Formen der Institution Restaurant ist. Beim gutbürgerlichen wie beim Vier-Sterne-Restaurant wie auch bei der Imbißstube ist dieser Teil invariant' (E&R 1972: 228).⁷ It is relatively easy, however, to think of occasions where the *hyperpragmeme* sequence is violated. For example, in snack bars one usually gives one's order at the counter, waits for the food, then pays and finally finds a seat and eats. Also, a recursion of elements is possible. One may initially only order an entrée and a main course. Having finished these, one can ask to see the menu again and place an order for dessert. In this case some of the *pragmemes*, which normally stand outside the *hyperpragmeme*, would actually enter the sequence of the *hyperpragmeme* (cf. skipping and reiteration in the flowchart in Chapter 3).

Although it has been indicated that the sequence in the *hyperpragmeme* cannot be considered invariant and, furthermore, even though no analyses of complete restaurant texts are offered as evidence for the *praxeogrammatic* realization of *pragmemes*, the approach must be credited for its interest in defining the unfolding of restaurant interactions as well as for its attempt to specify restaurant interactions in terms of the nuclear *hyperpragmeme* (E&R 1972: 226). In other words, E&R are interested in what constitutes a genre and what constitutes genre-agnateness (see Chapter 3). In this respect their interests coincide with the interests of the research reported in Part II. The approach must also be credited for the presentation of the *praxeogram* as perhaps the first attempt to represent social interaction dynamically. It is

somewhat surprising that no other pragmatists, to my knowledge, have followed Ehlich and Rehbein's insights. It may be that their work in pragmatics in the early 1970s represented too great a jump from the study of pragmatic functions of isolated sentences to the study of texts as realizations of genres of social interaction.

1.4.5 Global structures and discourse analysis

The term discourse analysis is usually associated with the Birmingham model of discourse analysis. Here the focus will be on the views which this specific discourse approach, and its derivatives, have presented on overall structures of social interactions. Thus, the following account is not meant to be a comprehensive review of the discourse model proposed (also Brown & Yule's (1983) and Stubbs' (1983) *Discourse Analysis* would, on the basis of the title, fit the context well, but have not been included, since they present nothing new on global structures, but rather review work done by others).

1.4.5.1 *The global structure of a lesson*

In Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975; henceforth S&C 1975) hierarchic rank scale approach to classroom interaction the structure of a lesson is realized in terms of transactions. One would expect that each transaction carries a particular function in the structure of a lesson, thus taking it step by step closer to an end and at the same time achieving the goals and purposes of interaction (learning through interaction). But in S&C no formal specification of the functions of transactions or canonical sequence is offered. The structure of a lesson is a mere 'unordered series of transactions' (S&C 1975: 25). Informally, S&C (1975: 56–9) discuss the informing, directing and eliciting functions of transactions, but say that in actual instances of lessons it is hard to predict the sequence of such functional transactions. Consequently, S&C (1975: 60) consider a lesson 'a stylistic type' where it is not possible to state the canonical ordering of transactions.

1.4.5.2 *Global structures in subsequent studies on discourse*

The derivative studies of S&C (1975) are equally inexplicit about structures on the topmost ranks in the various interaction types studied (see Burton 1980, 1981, 1982 for casual conversations in drama; Edmondson 1981 for role-play interactions; Coulthard 1981 for doctor–patient interviews, TV discussions, and committee meetings; Coulthard & Montgomery 1981a for lectures). The highest unit in these studies is an interaction. Sometimes the two topmost ranks, interaction and transaction, are disregarded completely (Burton 1982). Sometimes it is suggested that interactions may in fact turn out to be elements of some higher unit, for example in doctor–patient interviews such transactions as GREETINGS and LEAVETAKINGS seem to mark the beginning and end of a series of interactions (Coulthard 1981: 16). The unspecificity of the global overall structure is also apparent in the applications of S&C's model to service encounters by Coupland (1981, 1983, in press), Bachmann & Cohen-Solel (1980) and Bowker (1983).

Coupland's (1981, 1983) study is not specifically on overall structuring, but an example of a transactional structure in an instance of travel agency talk is provided: $A \hat{ } B \hat{ } C$ (Coupland 1981: 272–3, 1983: 466). Transaction *A* is realized by one 'greet/information elicit' exchange. Transaction *B* is realized by six exchanges, two 'information elicits', two 'checks', one 'clarify' and one 'inform' (in that order). Finally, transaction *C* is realized by a 'close' exchange. Although these transactions are not functionally labelled, such a labelling can be perceived for the transactions. 'The encounter consists largely of one main transaction; it could be labelled an *ELICIT TRANSACTION* ... since it concerns the client's eliciting of information' (Coupland 1981: 274; my capitals). Similarly, *A* and *C* could be labelled as *OPENING* and *CLOSING TRANSACTIONS*. The criterion used to decide which exchanges realize which element is the topic: 'the identification of a transaction depends on the recognition of topic units in the discourse' (Coupland 1981: 269). As Coupland does not analyse other texts in his data in terms of topic units, transactions and the overall structure realizations, it is very difficult to say how generally the overall structure $OPENING \ TRANSACTION \hat{ } ELICIT \ TRANSACTION \hat{ } CLOSING \ TRANSACTION$ applies in travel agency talk or whether other elements are also involved in the structure of travel agency talk (later, in Part II, further elements will be recognized: *BOOKING*, *CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING*, *PAY*, etc.). For the purpose of genre typology, for finding out what the canonical elements of a service encounter in a travel agency are and how they are sequenced, Coupland's study is not very illuminating. The structure given is a mere $BEGINNING \hat{ } MIDDLE \hat{ } END$ structure. In contrast to Coupland's (1981, 1983) approach, where the transactions are merely stated to have been realized topically, but where no illustration of how the topics are analysed linguistically is given, this study will attempt to show the realization and the unity of elements by analyses of discourse structures in each element.

Bachmann and Cohen-Solel (1980; hereafter B&C 1980) also study an instance—a Yemeni in a French post office. The major concern for overall structures in B&C (1980) is to find out what implications cultural differences in the unfoldings of social interactions have for foreign-language teaching. An example of how differences in the unfolding of a social process can get foreign-language learners into trouble is given in B&C (1980: 90). A young Yemeni ends up confronting the French police, because he has taken a French stick from a bakery without paying for it. It turns out that in his village bread is an item for which one does not have to pay. Consequently, the Yemeni does not realize that in a French bakery he must also go through the *PAY* stage. Also, *BARGAINING* is a stage in service encounters where the French and the Middle East cultures differ. When *BARGAINING* is initiated by the learners of French from these cultures, the native French may well consider it quite unsuitable to the situation. A study on buying and selling situations in shops and markets in Hong Kong (Mak 1984)⁸ shows that the negotiation of the price to be paid is done in two stages: first, in *PRE-BARGAINING* the reason for requesting a reduction in price is established (the goods are not first quality, the customer is an old friend, etc.) and

then, in BARGAINING, the price is established by the customer's offers and the server's counter offers of prices. BARGAINING is part of the culture of Hong Kong. Chinese residents will always find time to haggle over a few dollars, or even cents, with hawkers in the market (Mak 1984: 3). One can haggle over anything, even over the price of eggs (Mak 1984: 58), which would be considered quite unsuitable in most Western countries. When a Chinese foreign-language learner is thus suddenly 'deprived' of the customary stages in social interaction, he feels dissatisfied. His statements about the quality of the goods are not taken as openings for PRE-BARGAINING, but as genuine criticism of the goods and the customer is considered to be extremely 'fussy' (Mak 1984: 145). When a foreigner leaves those stages out of the interaction which are not elements of the structure in interactions in his own culture but are required in the foreign culture, he may be considered 'criminally-minded', like the Yemeni in the bakery, or simply rude, like the Chinese who are not accustomed to express any kind of explicit CLOSING at the end of their service interactions (Mak 1984: 95). In such cases the set-up for cultural conflict has been initiated by mere differences of unfoldings of social processes in two cultures.

But how can such cultural differences in overall structures be captured and displayed so that they can be taught? The unfolding of social interactions could be represented as sequences of speech acts/exchanges, as suggested by ethnomethodologists/S&C (1975). Post office interaction would consist globally of elements of OPENING ^ TRANSACTIONAL EXCHANGES ^ CLOSURE, where each would in turn consist of at least one exchange; for example OPENING would consist of adjacency pairs of Greeting ^ Response Greeting and of Service Request ^ Appreciation (B&C 1980: 87). But B&C argue that this formalization is too idealistic. They demonstrate that the adjacency pair/exchange approach poorly represents what is going on in postal interactions by giving an example of an authentic interaction between a Yemeni customer and an official of a French Post Office. The example illustrates how inadequately the speech act/exchange sequence approach shows the way interaction unfolds. This leads B&C to suggest that pedagogically useful descriptions of actual service encounters should also capture such matters as difficulties due to indecisiveness (concerning how to proceed in the unfolding of a social process), non-comprehension of the encounter on the customers' part, negotiations of alternative procedures, eliciting additional information, interruptions, hesitations, simultaneous speech (how to get the floor and keep it), and so on. It appears that B&C's proposals concern more the dynamic realizations of individual service encounter interaction elements (see Chapter 4) rather than the overall global structures which could be used for text typology. Both aspects are naturally important. The dynamic aspects are discovered by studying the actual instances of service encounters and then the procedure of incorporating them into language teaching programmes follows. But the view argued for in this study is that the dynamic aspects should not be studied haphazardly in social interaction, but should rather be carefully related to 'what happens and can potentially happen at what stage of interaction' (and here a

representation such as the flowchart in Chapter 3 may be of great advantage). It is for this reason that research on the unfolding of social interactions is of the utmost importance and will be promoted in this study.

In Bowker's (1983) study, also an investigation of service encounters (travel agency), Edmondson's (1981) elaboration of S&C (1975) has been applied. Edmondson's approach is selected because, according to Bowker (1983: 4), it 'does at least throw up the overall structure of the encounter into sharper relief' than S&C (1975). However, one must seriously question this claim of Bowker's. Edmondson's approach to overall structures in discourse is as unspecific as that in S&C (1975). The structure of an encounter, which is the highest unit, is seen in terms of phases (of the lower rank): (AVE) ^ BUSINESS ^ (VALE) (Edmondson 1981: 114). This overall structure presents a mere BEGINNING ^ MIDDLE ^ END structure, which will tell us nothing about the organization of the world in which we live. It reveals nothing about the ways in which the social interactions in which we daily participate unfold. One can even question the accuracy of the encounter structure given above. Not all our interactions necessarily involve BUSINESS. In minimal casual conversations there is a possibility of just realizing greetings and mere how-are-yous, in which case the only element realized would be AVE (for examples and a discussion, see Ventola 1977, 1978, 1979).

In Bowker's applications of the lower-rank analyses of Edmondson's framework to the data of travel agency texts, it is implied that whole interactions can be considered a Head realizing the element BUSINESS. To exemplify, one of the texts is summarized as 'one Head Exchange, including two Pre-Responding Exchanges which clarify the Head Proffer' (Bowker 1983: 42). A specific description of how this conclusion has been arrived at would involve a detailed discussion of Edmondson's model, and that is not seen to be necessary here. Suffice it to say that the basic pattern for an exchange is a Proffer followed by a Satisfy: 'A Proffer by definition initiates an Exchange, and a Satisfy by definition produces an outcome. No exchange may be terminated other than by a Satisfy move' (Edmondson 1981: 87). Bowker's analysis of the overall structure of the text as one exchange seems to put too much weight on Edmondson's requirement of an outcome by linkage. The different parts of the text do carry different functions, although Edmondson's characterization of exchange in terms of Proffer ^ Satisfy does not bring it out. Only the illocutionary acts, which fill the interactional slots of Proffer and Satisfy, bring out the functional staging of interaction. Once the illocutionary functions of speech acts are taken into consideration, it is found that Proffer ^ Satisfy, which is realized by Thanks, only occurs towards the end of the encounter, not, for example, in the middle or at the beginning.

In the work derived from the Birmingham school discourse approach there is one study where the overall structure of a genre has been given a more detailed characterization than in the studies explicated above. Harris (forthcoming) discusses the genre of courtroom discourse and the problems of defining it (Harris' work is influenced by the recent systemic work on generic structures and thus perhaps represents an attempt to amalgamate

the two approaches: see Section 1.5 and Chapter 3). Discourse is still seen in terms of a rank scale, where the highest rank, which specifies the genre, is realized by functionally labelled elements, transactions, of the lower rank. The canonical sequence of the functional transactions in a courtroom discourse genre is presented linearly: SUMMONING ^ SWEARING-IN ^ PRELIMINARY ^ INFORMATION-GATHERING ^ BREAK ^ ORDERING ^ CLOSING (BREAK refers to discourse within discourse, i.e. a period when the magistrates have their private discourse during which a decision is reached). The transaction structure is genre-defining and genre-specific. No changes in the sequence are allowed by the structure, nor are any of the elements optional. The linguistic realizations vary from one lexical item (often in SUMMONING) to very lengthy stretches of discourse (typically in INFORMATION GATHERING).

In Harris' approach it is not explicitly clarified how, when a text is generated by moving down from rank to rank, transactions are realized by classes of exchanges which are further realized by classes of moves. Some discussion of realization is, however, provided for each element (more for some than for others). But the realization is in terms of a different stratum, lexicogrammar, not in terms of the rank below on the discourse stratum. For example, the realization of SUMMONING is stated as: $S \rightarrow \text{Proper name} \wedge (\text{please})$. This seems to be a straight lexicogrammatical realization statement (realized by the choices from the systems of MOOD and VOCATIVE (for the former, see Figure 4.2 and for the latter, see Poynton 1984). Similarly, the realization of SWEARING-IN is seen directly as a MOOD choice of imperative. Stating the realizations of elements of courtroom discourse in terms of lexicogrammatical choices involves a 'stratal change' (presupposing that Harris also sees the linguistic system in terms of discourse-grammar-phonology, as S&C (1975) do), which leads one to question what happens in the rest of the lower ranks on the discourse stratum. Realization is obscured even further by the talk of 'semantic units'. For example, for PRELIMINARY a realization statement, $\text{PRELIMINARY} \rightarrow \text{IDENTIFICATION} \wedge \text{FACTS OF THE CASE}$ is given. Thus, a secondary layer for this transaction is proposed (which, however, is not an exchange realization of transaction, the rank below). Neither the status of this secondary structure in relation to the rank scale, nor the question of whether the 'semantic nature' of these sub-elements implies a semantic stratum, is made explicit. The realizations of these sub-elements are again given in grammatical terms (see Harris forthcoming).

In S&C (1975) the approach to discourse is to work from the bottom up to the top of the proposed rank scale. However, as has been discussed, reaching the top is never quite achieved. Harris' approach represents a trial of 'top-down' realization. But again there are difficulties in relating the top-most rank units to the units of the lower ranks. The difficulties which the researchers working with a rank scale model have had may lie in the fact that considering discourse as a generation from its generic structure down to the acts on one stratum is not possible. One could say that one stratum has been given too many responsibilities. The constituency model may not function for discourse (the structures on the discourse stratum are not necessarily constituency structures). When analysing long stretches of talk in

such genres as TV discussions and committee meetings, even Coulthard considers the realization of discourse in terms of other kinds of structures than the constituency structures organized in ranks (for details, see Coulthard 1981: 29–31; Stubbs 1973).

The discourse model originally outlined in S&C (1975) has certainly encouraged linguists to discover discourse facts and this must be considered highly valuable. The model has aroused a considerable amount of criticism as well, even in its proposals for analyses of the lower rank realizations (see e.g. Levinson 1983), and in the present context it must be concluded that it and its derivatives have paid little attention to the highest ranks proposed and to the challenge their research offers to discourse typology (genre typology) (with the exception of Harris, forthcoming).

1.5 GENERIC STRUCTURES IN SYSTEMIC LINGUISTICS

In search for a theory of text typology systemic linguistics seems to be in a slightly better position than some other approaches. The groundwork laid by Malinowski, Firth and scale-and-category theory has provided systemic theory with a theory of contextualization of language with register as its formal (lexicogrammatical) reflection. This has been an excellent starting-point in the search to develop systemic theory further to systematically capture the relationships between the social structure of a society and the linguistic realizations of this social structure. The view of language as a social semiotic has specifically been put forward by Halliday (1978, 1984, 1985b). The most important development in Halliday's systemics, when the focus is on text typology, is the metafunctional hook-up (Halliday 1978, 1984, 1985b; Halliday & Hasan 1980: 31–42; for reviews, see Fawcett 1980; Berry 1982; Gregory 1982; Martin 1984a).

As seen previously, the relationship between context and situation was troublesome in early systemic theory. Halliday continues to try to sort out the relationship by suggesting that Field, Mode and Tenor are best seen as constituting the extralinguistic semiotic construct of context of situation, the variables of which correlate systematically with the linguistic strata of semantics–lexicogrammar–phonology (referred to as a meaning–wording–sounding cycle in Halliday 1979). Semantics has replaced context (which has now joined situation, as originally in Malinowski's and Firth's writing) as the third linguistic stratum and is seen in terms of semantic components. Registers, which account for text variation, are now defined by looking 'downwards' from the social semiotic to the linguistic system (see e.g. Figure 4 in Halliday 1978: 69). The type of social action (Field), of role relationship (Tenor) and of channel and symbolic organization (Mode) of the context of situation are hypothesized to determine the respective choices from the ideational (representational and logical), interpersonal (participatory) and textual (enabling) components (networks) of semantics probabilistically by the pre-selection of certain semantic choices from the total semantic meaning potential of language. The contextual, favoured, fore-

grounded, semantic pre-selections constitute a register description of a text (Halliday 1977: 203) and enable the classification of texts into types. Registers are probabilistical ranges of meaning potential of the semantic level, directly determined by the Field, Mode and Tenor values of a particular situation type (see Figure 43 in Halliday & Hasan 1980: 40). The pre-selected semantic choices (i.e. register) are in turn realized by the lexicogrammatical TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME system choices and structures respectively (Halliday 1978, 1979, 1984, 1985b; Halliday & Hasan 1980, 1980/85). Types of texts are thus defined as types of registers, defined by the metafunctional hook-up between context of situation and language by allowing certain semantic and lexicogrammatical pre-selections in similar contexts.

This is not the context to argue for or against the details of Halliday's theory of language as social semiotic. Here it is considered as a development of the early systemic theory, upon which to build when relations between texts are characterized. It suggests how in certain contexts meanings are predictably available to us, and how in our everyday interactions the existing social reality is acted out through language (see Halliday 1978: 189). How this social reality unfolds as a social process in text instances, and how such unfolding leads us to characterize instances of social interaction generically as same or different, has been paid less attention by Halliday (but see Halliday 1978: 134, 145). This work has largely been left to other systemicists.

Recently, at least three interesting approaches on generic features of texts have emerged within systemics: the first is the communication linguistics framework put forward by Gregory and Malcolm, the second comprises Hasan's work on generic structures, and the last is the connotative semiotics framework, developed by a research group working at the University of Sydney, Martin being the originator of the group. Only the first two approaches will be introduced in this chapter. Because the last approach forms the theoretical framework for the present study of service encounters, it will be introduced after the introduction of the data, in Chapter 3, where it will also be developed further.

1.5.1 Discourse structures in communication linguistics

In numerous publications Gregory and Malcolm have put forward an approach called communication linguistics, where language is seen as behaviour, comprising situation, discourse and manifestation, and code, comprising strata of semology, morphosyntax and phonology (for details of the model, see Gregory 1983, 1984, 1985a, 1985b; Malcolm 1983, 1984, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c). The most interesting aspect of communication linguistics from the point of view of generic structures in texts is discourse, code and phasal analysis.

Discourse involves (a) discourse plot, structure, typology; (b) field, mode, personal and functional tenors of discourse (register); (c) temporal, social, geographical and individual dialects; (d) event, participant, locational and attitudinal chains; and (e) phase and transition: paragraph, cohesive identity

and similarity chains (Gregory 1985a: 124). Code consists of three strata: (1) semology (the ideational, interpersonal and textual resources: processes, relations, participant and circumstantial roles, speech functions, attitudinals, focus prominence, proposition, predication, concept, component interpropositional relationships/conjunctivity, conceptual/lexical fields and taxonomies); (2) morphosyntax (systems, structures and classes, which do not seem very different from what has been put forward in scale-and-category and early systemic models; for details, see Gregory 1985a: 137; Malcolm 1985c: 15–18); and (3) phonology (represented again not very much differently from early systemic models). These strata form a realizational cycle, semology realized by morphosyntax, which in turn is realized by phonology (cf. the ‘meaning–wording–sound cycle’ in Halliday 1979). Discourse is ‘an activation of the linguistic code in situation to exchange message(s)’ (Gregory 1985b: 245) and relates instantially to the strata of the non-instantial language code.

The greatest interest in discourse in the present context lies in ‘discourse plot’, ‘structure’ and ‘typology’ and how they are discovered by phasal analysis. A phase is defined as ‘a tri-functional [ideational, interpersonal and textual] construct that accounts for those stretches of discourse which exhibit consistency and congruity in the selections that have been realised from ideational, interpersonal and textual systems’ (Gregory 1985b: 246), or ‘as a very delicate statement of register, or the dynamic instantiation of registerial choices in a particular text’ (Malcolm 1985c: 18). Phases are thus recognized on the basis of codal (semological, morphosyntactic and phonological) analysis. Transitions are overlappings of phasal mappings and mark the shifts of ‘in’ and ‘out of phase’. Phasal strings are set up to describe the interconnectivity of phases, and they are identifiable codally and gnostologically. Phasal strings are realized when one experiential domain (Field) is used by the participants to lead them from one phase to another (Malcolm 1985c: 19). Lexical collocation in particular seems to realize phasal strings (cf. lexical strings introduced in Chapter 5). The procedure of setting up phasal strings is as follows: when analyses have revealed the boundaries of the phases, the phases are classified by their sequencing as continuous, discontinuous or isolated. An example of strings found in a conversation from Malcolm’s (1985c: 247) data is the following: TERMINATION OF SCHOOL TERM (3 phases), SUMMER JOB EXPERIENCE (11 phases) and FUTURE COURSES AND REQUIREMENTS (5 phases).

Both Malcolm (1984) and Gregory (1985b) propose their model as a more inviting model for genre typology than the approaches which are hierarchic (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975; Burton 1980), which present generic structure potentials for discourse types (see Section 1.5.2), or which see generic structures as part of the connotative semiotics cycle (see Chapter 3). One difference between communication linguistics and the latter two approaches is that the latter two claim to be generative, whereas Gregory (1985a: 122–3) states that the communication linguistics approach is interpretative and has no generative goals. This means that whereas the latter two approaches are also used to predict the generic features of texts, communication linguistics

is only interested in capturing, through phasal analysis, how generic features are realized in texts. So far the success of phasal analysis in capturing generic features of texts can be shown to be doubtful. This may be the result of the kind of data used for the analyses. Gregory's publications only include exemplifications of analysis. A text example alone does not convince one of the benefits of the phasal analysis over the latter two approaches, especially when genre typology is in question (although this is implied in Gregory 1985b). Genre typology by definition is a study of a number of texts and the features shared by them. Malcolm's study of 'casual conversation' fulfils this criterion.

Malcolm has studied several recordings of conversations between adults, on the one hand, and children, on the other. The recordings are labelled 'casual conversations'. However, one can present serious queries about the methodology used for the collection of data and thus about the nature of the data (described in detail in Malcolm 1985c, but also see Malcolm 1984, 1985a). The data have been collected in a quasi-laboratory situation. Adult informants (students) were given instructions to 'talk to one another' for ten minutes. Children, since they did not seem to respond well to the request 'talk to each other', were given Lego to play with ('build using Lego') and, once given something to do, it was found that the children were quite willing to communicate with one another (Malcolm 1984: 353). In other words, the children were not quite as willing to play the game of 'let's pretend to have a casual conversation!' as the adult informants. This hardly comes as a surprise: children need a real communicative goal (a social purpose) for their interaction. Communicative goals and purposes are what social interaction is about. No goal—no willingness to 'communicate intentionally'.

Without goals and purposes our linguistically realized behaviour wavers here and there, as we are trying to establish a goal for our conversation. This is clearly indicated by Malcolm's study. The situation in which the informants were put in Malcolm's study represents vaguely any kind of social event (not even an experimental one, where goals/tasks are usually clearly defined for informants). It is for this reason that Malcolm's casual conversations contrast markedly with the kind of casual conversations of casual encounters described in Ventola (1977, 1978, 1979). Interactants in casual encounters have social goals and purposes for their interaction (even if only phatic). The only social event comparable to Malcolm's event, which I can think of, is that of a foreign-language classroom. The syllabuses of several foreign-language departments include 'Conversation Classes' or 'Use of English Classes'. In these, students are asked to do exactly what Malcolm asked the informants to do: 'Talk! Use your English!'. Even in this situation, the goal of interaction is clearer than in Malcolm's recording situation. The foreign students are asked to demonstrate their encoding and decoding abilities of a foreign code and the teacher present has the task of evaluating these skills (although students frequently question the purpose of this kind of activity and frequently demonstrate the same kind of unwillingness to talk as the children in Malcolm's experiment did). But native speakers hardly need to demonstrate their ability to use the code.

The result of Malcolm's investigations has been that no generic structures except in instantial terms could be recognized in the data collected. Thus, casual conversation is concluded to be an 'unpredictable' type (Malcolm 1984: 354). This kind of conclusion may be appropriate for Malcolm's own data, but if extended to the casual conversations in casual encounters, it may be too hasty. Ventola (1979) can, and has been criticized (Malcolm 1984; Harris forthcoming), for its inexplicitness in stating the realizations for the CENTERING element. This element has been described in terms of topics and topical shifts. The principle does not seem to be very much different from the experiential domain (Field) of the phasal strings in Malcolm's analyses.

Certainly there is no denying that some kind of analyses, whether the type of phasal analyses promoted by communication linguistics or the type of analyses suggested later in this book, are necessary to make the realizations of generic elements explicit and to capture not only the experiential but also the interpersonal and textual meanings of texts which belong to one genre. As a final comment on the generic aspects of communication linguistics, one can say that there is no reason why the phasal strings, when applied to a set of data of a different kind from the one in Malcolm's study, could not turn out to be a realizational feature of genres and could not function complementarily to the analyses proposed later in this study.

1.5.2 Structure potentials of genres

As discussed above, in the Halliday theory of 'language as a social semiotic', text typology is equated with register typology. The contextual values of Field, Mode and Tenor correlate systematically with the ideational, textual and interpersonal components of semantics, thus determining probabilistically the register configuration of the texts created in that context and the foregrounded lexicogrammatical transitivity, theme and mood patternings, which function as the realization of register in texts (a metafunctional hook-up). Hasan proposes that the values of Field, Mode and Tenor *in toto* have an additional effect on texts, that of overall, global schematic patternings of texts. In other words, the values of Field, Tenor and Mode are together considered to determine a global schematic pattern for the verbal unfoldings of texts (Hasan 1984b: 75; Halliday & Hasan 1980/85: 108; see also Berry 1980). Generic text typology is, in Hasan's view, based on the study of these global structures.⁹ When the contextual configuration (values of Field, Tenor and Mode) is the same in a number of social event instances, i.e. they are produced in the same kind of social context, the texts will resemble one another functionally and in the way they unfold linguistically. It is due to their similarity of unfolding that texts can be classified as belonging to the same genre. How does one define this likeness and similarity? To understand Hasan's answer to this question, one needs, first, to consider the functional nature of texts and, secondly, the manner in which texts unfold.

Hasan (1977: 229) hypothesizes that the contextual configuration of the situation determines the functional similarity of texts which belong to the same genre. This does not just mean that texts as a whole carry a function, such as, for example, a lesson having a didactic function, but rather that all the verbal processes associated with that context are seen to consist of different stages for which functions are assigned. These functions are categories or elements of the generic structure potential (hereafter GSP) which defines the 'total range of textual structures available within a genre' (Hassan 1984b: 79; see also Halliday & Hasan 1980/85; also called structural formula or structure potential in Hasan's earlier writing, 1977, 1979; Halliday & Hasan 1980).

If social contexts determine the elements in the GSP, consequently the GSPs are expected to vary across different genres to the degree that the contextual configurations of social contexts vary. Each genre has its own GSP, which is a result of particular Field, Mode and Tenor combinations. Thus, the GSPs of texts, which capture such activities as ordering meals in restaurants, buying groceries, visiting doctors, posting letters, etc., are not considered to include the same functional elements. This is because the values for the contextual variables which determine the social process and its verbal realizations are not the same. The texts must be assigned to different genre categories for the reason that the semiotics of the situation determines different, unrelated functions to the elements for their respective GSPs. But, as Hasan (1977: 241) points out, if the contextual configuration values are to some degree the same, 'it is obvious that some elements will be shared across some genres'. This fact, then, accounts for genre agnateness (relatedness).

The GSPs include obligatory elements which are genre specific and genre defining. Their 'presence is essential to any complete text embedded in the contextual configuration under focus' (Halliday & Hasan 1980: 21). A contextually very appropriate example, an example of service encounter, is given in Hasan (1979) (also in Halliday & Hasan 1980). If the contextual configuration is,

Field of discourse = economic transaction: purchase of retail goods:
perishable food . . .

Tenor of discourse = agents of transaction: salesman-customer; social
distance: near maximum . . .

Mode of discourse = channel: aural: + visual contact; spoken medium
(Halliday & Hasan 1980: 18).

it follows that in 'the genre of buying and selling perishable food in face to face interaction' (Halliday & Hasan 1980: 83) the unfolding social processes would include the following genre defining and obligatory elements: SALE REQUEST, SALE COMPLIANCE, SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE (Hasan 1979; Halliday & Hasan 1980, 1980/85).

In addition to the obligatory elements, the GSP of a genre may include optional elements. Optional elements are elements which are typically associated with the social process type in question, but are not seen as

necessary in every instance of the realization of the social process. An example of an optional element in a service encounter genre is a FINIS (saying goodbye) (Halliday & Hasan 1980: 26). One does not necessarily have to say a goodbye in a service encounter, whereas if one wants to purchase something PURCHASE is considered constitutive in the interaction (obligatory). The optional elements in Hasan's account of service encounters are: GREETING, SALE INITIATION and FINIS. The optional elements are seen to be shared in related genres (Halliday & Hasan 1980: 27).

Obligatory elements are used as a criterion for defining whether texts are complete vs. incomplete/non-texts (see the discussion in Hasan 1977: 229; Halliday & Hasan 1980: 83). Complete texts require an execution of the social process as characterized by the obligatory elements of the GSP (and the permissible sequential order, defined also by the GSP, see below).

Since speech is linear in time, it is obvious that some kind of sequencing of the elements in the GSP needs to take place when actual generic structures of texts are realized. The GSP also defines the permissible actual arrays of text structures; i.e. it not only states the typical canonical order of the generic elements, but also the typical variations of that order. The canonical order and the variations of generic elements is represented by a linear GSP. Again, an example from service encounter genre is appropriate to illustrate this linear organization. The following structure describes, in Hasan's view, the organizational potential of elements of those service encounter texts generated in the social context, the contextual configuration of which has been given above:

$$[[\langle \langle \text{GREETING} \rangle \cdot \rangle (\text{SALE INITIATION}) \wedge] [(\text{SALE ENQUIRY} \curvearrowright \cdot) \{ \text{SALE REQUEST} \wedge \text{SALE COMPLIANCE} \} \wedge] \text{SALE} \wedge \text{PURCHASE} \wedge \text{PURCHASE CLOSURE} (\wedge \text{FINIS})$$

(Halliday & Hasan 1980: 27)

The optional elements are within parentheses (). Fixed order is indicated by $\wedge$, whereas when an element is not restricted by sequence, its mobility is indicated by a dot $\cdot$, e.g. greeting $\wedge$ SALE INITIATION or SALE INITIATION $\wedge$ GREETING. Square brackets [] indicate the limitation for the mobility of elements assigned by the dot. Angled brackets $\langle \rangle$ indicate that an element may be embedded within another element, e.g. a GREETING embedded in SALE INITIATION. An arrow $\curvearrowright$ above an element indicates that the element can reoccur. An arrow above braces $\{ \}$ indicates that the elements within the braces are all reiterated (an illustrative analysis of a service encounter text in terms of an actual schematic structure generated can be found in Halliday & Hasan 1980: 18). The presentation of the GSP is summarized in Figure 1.3.

Hasan's work on the identification of genre in terms of a GSP represents a significant step towards systematizing the representation of the relationship between texts and their contexts as well as in classifying texts into various categories. Although later, within the connotative semiotics framework on genre and register (Chapter 3), some arguments against her views will be presented, the GSPs must be considered a powerful abstraction. Firstly, it allows a description of generic structures in instances of texts. If one wants

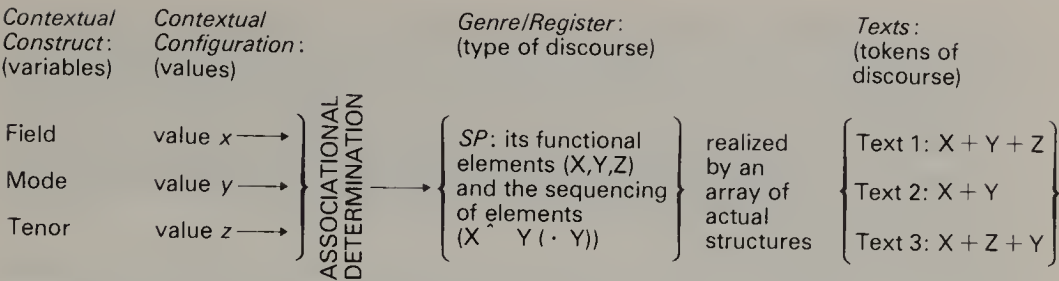


Figure 1.3 Contextual configuration determining the generic structure potential of a genre

to describe only one text, any descriptive system can of course do the task. But the GSP allows a systematic and consistent description of texts in terms of the elements which have been included in the text ($X + Y + Z$ structure is described in the same way as $X + Y$ or $X + Z + Y$). This means that one is able to specify the typeness of instances of texts by their permissible sequences and the inclusion/exclusion of optional elements. Secondly, the GSP allows a classification of text instances into types on the basis of the nature of their obligatory elements (the texts where elements X , Y , and Z appear are from a different genre class from the texts with elements A , B and C). Thirdly, the GSP can also to a certain degree account for genre relatedness (texts with schematic structures $R \hat{S} \hat{T}$ and $T \hat{U} \hat{V}$ share an optional element and must to a degree be related). Finally, the GSP is a generative device, analogous to a system (Hasan 1984b: 79). That is, given the context and the GSP, an array of new texts can be generated, each of which may structurally be slightly different in regard to the number of optional elements included and the realized linear sequence, but each of which abides by the rules of social semiotics as permissible verbalizations of the social process type associated with that context. These are facts with which many of the previously reviewed approaches to generic structures of texts and text typology have had trouble coping. The major difference between the previous approaches and that of Hasan's can be summarized by Hasan's own words on her theoretical framework: it is an approach to genre typology which 'builds in the possibility of text variation from the start' (Hasan 1984b: 79). Consequently, it offers an excellent starting-point for discovering the variation possible in a set of data of service encounters, which will be described in Chapter 2. The discussion on the methodology of capturing generic global differences in texts will continue in Chapter 3, where the focus is specifically on service encounter interaction.

NOTES

1. Context of culture is also a notion which Firth (1935/57: 32) acknowledged although it has received less attention in his writings.
2. The view that Sacks in particular has promoted is 'language as social identity'. At

the time of his death Sacks was working on methods of capturing how language is used for building self-image and self-identity and how interactants defend their identities during interaction. These notions have particularly been developed in an unpublished paper by Sacks, 'Everyone has to lie', which unfortunately has been unobtainable for this research, but about which I learned from Professor Halliday (personal communication). Sacks' and Halliday's views on how language constructs reality are complementary (see Halliday 1975, 1978).

3. A condition and a follow-up.
4. Rather confusing in the notion of superstructures is the fact that they are called 'semantic superstructures' and 'pragmatic superstructures, although they are considered to be semiotic (see van Dijk 1980: 112, 198).
5. Approximate translations of decision points are *Request menu*, *Want information*, *Want the bill*, of actions *Step in*, *Look around*, *Take menu*, *Order the bill*, and of interactions *'I'd like the menu'*, *'I'd like some information'*, *Giving advice*.
6. Approximate English meanings of hyperpragmeme elements are: ORDER/TAKING ORDER ^ PASSING THE ORDER ON ^ PRODUCTION ^ DELIVERY TO WAITER ^ DELIVERY TO CUSTOMER ^ ACCEPTING THE DELIVERY ^ CONSUMPTION ^ WANTING TO PAY ^ 'I'D LIKE THE BILL' ^ WORK OUT THE BILL ^ PRESENT THE BILL/ACCEPT THE BILL ^ PAY
7. A free translation: the meaning of the hyperpragmeme is that it constitutes the nucleus of interactive sequence in different kinds of manifestations of the restaurant institution. This part is invariant in bourgeois four-star restaurants as well as in snack bars.
8. Mak (1984) is a follow-up study to the research reported here and presents a flowchart representation and analyses of shop and market service encounters. Largely, the elements of these service encounters have the same flowchart representation as the one given in Chapter 3, but some additional elements (PRE-BARGAINING, BARGAINING, SALES PITCH and WEIGHING) are introduced and flowchart representations for them are given.
9. Genre appears to be a collaborative abstraction to register, functioning on the semantic level of language. Hasan has frequently used the two terms synonymously (see e.g. Hasan 1977: 230; Halliday & Hasan 1980: 82). More recently, only the term 'genre' appears in Hasan's writings (see Hasan 1984; Halliday & Hasan 1980/85). Neither Hasan nor Halliday have explicitly offered a discussion on how the two terms complement each other and readers may find this a difficulty in, for example, Halliday & Hasan 1980, 1980/85. Here the responsibility for the interpretation of the two notions as collaborative entities, rather than as synonymous entities on the level of semantics, is the author's.

2 Description of data and data collection

2.1 TYPE OF DATA

The service encounter data in this study was originally designed to form the first stage of a research project on contrastive genre and register analyses in Australian English and Finnish service encounters where, in addition to native speaker interactions in both speech communities, Finnish interactants' communication with Australian English-speakers in service encounters would also be studied, to see whether the kind of linguistic phenomena, characterized as broken English vs. foreigner talk, occurs in these encounters. Such a study would lead to an understanding of the nature of native/non-native interaction and the difficulties experienced by non-native interactants. A comprehensive, systematic study of English and Finnish 'service talk' would map such linguistic interaction knowledge and could be used for applied purposes in foreign-language teaching (some preliminary contrastive register studies can be found in Ure 1971; Ure & Ellis 1977; Ellis forthcoming).

Although all the necessary data for the contrastive genre and register study have been collected, the project in its original form has proved too extensive to realize at this stage for two reasons. Firstly, it appears that, before such a study, using text as a unit, can be conducted for the benefit of applied linguistics, methodology needs to be improved to accommodate generic and registerial variation effectively. Secondly, contrastive genre and register studies involve describing the data of both languages by using the same descriptive tools. But since systemic descriptions, systemic theory being the chosen linguistic description, were not yet available for the Finnish language, developing comparative descriptions would have been far too time-consuming within the limits of the study. Such descriptions, as well as the completion of the larger-scale study, have to be conducted at a later stage. Consequently, the study presently maps out the semiotics of service encounters in an Australian cultural context only (no claims beyond this society are made). But at the same time, the descriptions and analyses presented in this study represent a first step towards further important contrastive studies on cultural semiotics of texts.

Why service encounters? The reasons are manifold. Firstly, having a large-scale investigation in mind, it has been felt that text recordings should represent everyday social activities in a community. Information about the semiotic structures of such everyday activities would prove most useful for non-native newcomers. Embarrassment and communication breakdowns

experienced in these essential everyday activities slow down non-natives' adjustment to the new linguistic environment. The lack of knowing how to linguistically (and non-linguistically) conduct basic social interactions may result in rejection of the new host society, as well as, if reversed, in rejection of newcomers to the society.

Secondly, service encounters are a convenient starting-point because they seem more 'uniform' than, for example, casual conversations, where 'talk' often sprawls and interactants sidetrack easily. This 'regular' and 'habitual' nature of patternings in service encounters seems to indicate that they are 'socially shared', which functions as a constraint on interactants' linguistic behaviour (thus, at least to a degree, guaranteeing that texts can be compared).

Further, service encounters are 'public'. They are not considered intimate or private and thus a permission to record such conversations is relatively easy to obtain. Anyone can, in fact, eavesdrop on these encounters. There are, naturally, service encounters which are considered intimate. Eavesdropping on banking interactions is not considered appropriate. Usually unspoken and socially acquired rules exist in a society stating how far away the person queueing must stand from the on-going interaction. Cultural comparisons are interesting. In banks in Finland one is allowed to stand right behind the person being served. In Britain customers seem to automatically start a queue a few steps back from the person being served. In Australia the queue similarly starts a few steps back, but the service area is separated from the queuing area by a rope and frequently customers are explicitly reminded to keep their distance by a sign PLEASE WAIT HERE! As the data are audiotaped rather than videorecorded, no attempt will be made to account for proxemics in this study, although it is felt to be an area which generally deserves attention in both theoretical linguistics and applied linguistics (language learners may be judged 'pushy, provocative, too intimate', if they stand closer to native speakers than the rules of proxemics of the native society allow).

To keep the interactants as much at ease as possible during the recording, the following types of service locations have been chosen for the data collection: (1) a post office; (2) a small souvenir/jewellery/gift shop; and (3) a travel agency.

2.2 DATA COLLECTION: METHOD AND PROBLEMS

The data-recording procedure in the above-mentioned locations was organized as obtrusively and inoffensively as possible. Several native speaker servers in three different post offices, shops and travel agencies in three different suburbs of an Australian city agreed to be recorded. Customers were either informed about the recording by a sign or were told about it by the researcher (thus, if a customer chose not to be recorded, s/he could choose a counter where no recording was taking place). In the majority of cases, servers and customers were strangers to each other. The conversations

where servers and customers were acquainted are excluded from the study.¹ Also, the conversations with non-native customers are excluded (judged by ethnic appearance, phonological realizations and information provided by the server).

The data were recorded by using a portable cassette recorder, Technics RS 686 DX, and two small-sized, clip-on lapel, Tandy electret microphones. The microphones were set on the counter so that one of them was directed towards the server and the other towards the customer. There was no attempt to hide the microphones, although small microphones were chosen deliberately to reduce the informant's anxiety. The servers carried on with their work as usual. The researcher remained in the background and observed the interactions (noting the sex and approximate age of interactants, ethnic background, relevant non-verbal activities, etc.) and operated the recorder from a reasonable distance (the microphones had extended flexes). Thus, no violation of the customer's and server's social space was committed; nevertheless, the researcher could hear and see what was being said. Neither servers nor customers were in any way coached either before or during the interaction. Thus the data represent spontaneous natural linguistic realizations of social activities which speakers typically perform in these locations: each customer performed a social activity which s/he already had in mind as an interactive goal to be achieved, when stepping into the location.

It is obvious that recording conversations in three different types of service encounters on nine different days amounts to quite an extensive body of data. Some of the data have been rejected because of recording problems, some for other reasons (the customer's non-native status, a friend of the server, etc.). The analyses of twelve service encounter texts, four in each type of location (see the Appendix), will be explicated in detail in this study. However, all the collected data have served as a basis for building up a genre and register typology, and will here and there be used as additional supportive material for hypotheses and theoretical considerations developed. The twelve texts have been selected fairly randomly, but so that at least one text from each recording location has been chosen and so that the data includes not only texts where information is asked, but also texts where goods are requested and bought. The texts have been transcribed by the researcher and have been checked by a native speaker of Australian English.

Collecting spontaneous, real-life data always faces some, more or less predictable, problems which may lead to a rejection of at least part of the data. Recording in natural environments means certain sacrifices in quality. Background noise is a problem. As the interest in this study is on the genre, register and discourse features of texts, 'wording' transcriptions have been considered sufficient for the analyses. Precautions to reduce the noise level were taken with varying success. For example, recording locations were situated away from main traffic routes. But post offices, where usually more than one service interaction is going on simultaneously, appeared to be noisier than predicted (squeaky doors, post officials stamping letters, echoing locations). The server positions were relatively close to each other

and the adjacent interactions were also frequently picked up by the recorder. In shops, the soft background music from a shopping complex can be heard on the tapes. These factors indicate that in future studies careful attention will have to be paid to the selection of recording locations in order to minimize data loss.

Interactions in all service locations in this study have taken place over a counter (or a desk). The counter has to some degree limited the mobility of informants during interaction, preventing both servers and customers from moving too far away from the microphones. However, in shops and travel agencies, informants, nevertheless, tended to move around to inspect goods, to get brochures, etc. This of course has led to the loss of some data and, to prevent this and to improve the quality of recordings, the clipping of microphones on to speakers may be recommended, although it may make informants more conscious of the recording.

The most serious problem has probably been the role which non-verbal activities play in these situations. As will be shown later, many of the non-verbal activities form a vital part of the whole service encounter activity. Non-verbal activities have to be reconstructed by the analyst from the observational notes and the sounds on the tapes (rustling paper = wrapping up the goods; operating the cash register = payment sequence, etc.). In this respect, videorecorded data can be recommended, although again it may inhibit informants at first. Since the importance of semiotic aspects for understanding what is going on linguistically in interactions is understood better today, various possibilities of videorecording in natural environments should also be seriously investigated. Videorecording has, of course, been used for quasi-laboratory interactions and studies of interactions produced by role play, but such data are hardly useful for a serious study of social semiotics of a speech community. Being 'on TV' is still considered fairly intimidating by many (if people notice themselves on TV monitors in department stores, for example, they quickly move away). But as the general public becomes accustomed to being videorecorded among family and friends, videorecording social interactions in everyday situations becomes less of an affair to be shied away from (the young in particular seem to be less inhibited in this respect).

NOTES

1. The relationship is indicated by use of address terms, topics on personal matters, etc. Often the nature of the relationship was established by the researcher by asking the server informally about the frequency and the nature of the server/customer relationship. The conversations between acquaintances in service encounters are well worth looking at from the viewpoint of how differences in social distance influence the linguistic realizations in service encounters; cf. Hasan (1977), Ventola (1979).

3 Towards representing service encounter as a process

Generic structure potential

This chapter will develop genre typology further, by first discussing the linear Generic Structure Potential representation in the light of the collected service encounter data. It will be shown that certain phenomena in the data remain unaccountable by the GSP. The data will then be looked at in the light of the connotative semiotics framework, a third systemic approach, which has specifically addressed itself to generic structures in text. This framework introduces genre and register as independent semiotic planes which are realized by the plane of language. Genres are represented by a system network, the choices from which generate the elements of generic structures in texts. Furthermore, it will be argued that a different kind of generative representation, a flowchart, will be needed to account for the dynamic variation in the sequencing of generic elements in service encounters. A flowchart not only captures what is generically possible in a genre type, but also shows how texts are unique: the actual selections of paths in a flowchart show the uniqueness of texts, thus demarcating the differences between texts. It also explains how other genres may be embedded within a genre, how genre mixing and genre switching take place.

3.1 THE GENERIC STRUCTURE POTENTIAL OF SERVICE ENCOUNTERS: THE LINEAR REPRESENTATION AND ITS LIMITATIONS

At the beginning of the analyses of the collected service encounter texts, the Generic Structure Potential of service encounters was taken as a starting-point. As the main thrust of the linear GSP has already been presented in Chapter 1 (1.5.2), only a reminder is necessary here. The values of context of situation (Field, Mode, Tenor) determine the GSP, which shows the potential for organizing generic elements in texts. Two aspects of the GSP of service encounters are relevant here and will be discussed in detail in this section: (1) all texts of a genre will necessarily include the obligatory elements of SALE REQUEST, SALE COMPLIANCE, SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE and may include all or some of the optional elements of GREETING, SALE INITIATION, SALE ENQUIRY and FINIS; (2) all texts which are generated in the same context

of situation but which do not have the obligatory elements of the GSP must consequently be considered as incomplete or as non-texts (see Hasan 1977: 229, 241; Halliday & Hasan 1980: 83).

3.1.1 Is the linear representation the best for generic structures?

Following Hasan's theoretical premisses on the GSP of service encounters, post office, small shop and travel agency texts (henceforth PO, SH and TA) were posited to be generated by similar, but not exactly the same GSPs as the one proposed in Hasan's work. This seemed reasonable, as the values for context of situation seemed to remain approximately the same in the three types of service encounter texts as they did in Hasan's 'greengrocer's' text. The major difference appeared to be in the value of Field, but even there the PO, SH and TA texts seemed to share the least delicate feature of 'economic transaction' with the greengrocer's text, although they, of course, did not share the more delicate Field features which described the context of the greengrocer's text (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5.2).

It is natural to expect that, when the Field, Mode and Tenor values of context greatly differ in two genres, their GSPs would hardly have any elements in common (compare the GSPs presented for medical appointments, service encounters and nursery tales in Hasan 1977, 1979, 1984b). But even a slight value change in a variable is sufficient to alter the structure of the GSP, so that the GSPs represent the structures of two different genres. If a change in one contextual value leads 'to a change in the inventory of obligatory elements of text structure', that element becomes genre-defining; for example, a change of the value 'perishable food' to 'immovable property' will lead from the GSP of 'greengrocer's' to a GSP of 'housebuying' (Halliday & Hasan 1980: 82). Following this argument, the more delicate values of Field in the contexts of PO, SH and TA seemed to lead to the inclusion of some genre-specific elements into the GSP. For example, PO-texts would necessarily include the element POSTING, and TA-texts BOOKING. In other words, the three types of contexts would determine three types of GSPs. Consequently, the PO, SH and TA texts would belong to different genres, because some of their obligatory elements would only appear in the respective contexts.

But, at the same time, the contextual values of Mode and Tenor, and even on the least delicate scale of Field, would predict that some of the elements which Hasan presents as obligatory in the greengrocer's context would also be included in the three GSPs of the collected service encounter texts. SALE ENQUIRIES, SALE REQUESTS and SALE COMPLIANCES were made in all three types of texts. Moreover, when goods were actually bought, some of the texts in all three types of contexts also included such elements as SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE. Additionally, such optional elements as GREETING, SALE INITIATION, SALE ENQUIRY and FINIS seem to be shared in some of the texts of the three types. The three contexts would thus determine three linear representations in which there are three kinds of elements: (1) obligatory elements specific only to one context (e.g. POSTING, BOOKING); (2) obligatory elements shared by three contexts (e.g. SALE REQUEST, SALE COMPLIANCE); and

(3) optional elements shared by three contexts (SALE ENQUIRY, FINIS). However, when trying to construct the three kinds of linear GSP representations for the three contexts, problems occurred. These problems will be pinpointed one-by-one below (see also Ventola 1983a, 1984a, b).

First of all, linearity imposes a stricter sequence of elements than seems to be the case in the data. For example, according to the GSP (see Chapter 1, Section 1.5.2), all SALE REQUESTS and SALE COMPLIANCES must be realized before the exchange of money can take place. Frequently, the interactants, however, initiate a second 'round' of SALE REQUESTS and SALE COMPLIANCES after having already completed SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE (= PAYMENT). The sequence is started again as the customer remembers an item which has initially been forgotten, as in Example 1 (henceforth S = Server, C = Customer; {non-verbal activity}):

Example 1 (additional data—PO):¹

S: {gives the change to C}
 C: thank you
 {2 seconds pause}
 C: oh what's the matter with me
 I need stamps

Thus, it seems that the sequence SALE REQUEST ^ SALE COMPLIANCE ^ SALE ^ PURCHASE ^ PURCHASE CLOSURE needs to be relaxed.

Sometimes C even leaves the location before realizing he has forgotten an item he was supposed to get. In Example 2 a child comes back to the post official who has previously served her, so instead of the usual attendance allocation signal *yes please* the post official says:

Example 2 (additional data—PO):

S: do you want something else

The kind of phenomenon exemplified above causes an ethical problem for genre analyses: is a text considered the same text or a different text? Clearly, the interactants no longer face exactly the same options linguistically as initially. A solution to this may be to treat such texts as 'bound texts'.² In this case, the GSP for service encounters must include the possibility of recycling most of the elements anew even after the element FINIS.

Secondly, recursion in natural data appears to be a more extended phenomenon than what is possible to represent linearly. Interactants can practically repeat every element. If a SALE REQUEST and SALE COMPLIANCE are reiterated, as in Example 1, then necessarily the payment sequence is also reiterated. Consequently also SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE reoccur. Furthermore, even SALE INITIATION may be reiterated. C may initially reject the service offer, but after having browsed around, C will approach S and start the text anew, as in Example 3 (if the continuation is considered a bound text to the previous one).

Example 3 (additional data—SH):

S: can I help you at all

C: no I am just looking at the moment thanks very much

S: okay

{2 min 47 secs—*C* browses around; *S* organizes some jewellery}

C: I am looking for something for 21st to buy

it's very hard

{6 secs—*C* continues browsing; *S* continues organizing}

C: hm

{31 secs}

C: hm

{36 secs}

C: sorry can you help me with some watches

A third problem is brought about by the fact that some of the GSP elements are based on participants' interactive roles (server–customer), whereas others are not so motivated. The previous service encounter studies have largely paid attention to what represents 'two sides of the same coin': the language used by the server, on the one hand, and by the customer, on the other (e.g. Mitchell 1957/75). Speech acts which realize different functions in service talk are typically associated either with the *C* or the *S* role. When discussing Merritt's work earlier (see Chapter 1, 1.3.1), it was pointed out that speech acts alone cannot represent a semiotic function of an element in a social process. The generic structure elements must be considered as a joint effort of achieving/completing a stage of social activity in a situation. Both interactants strive to make something happen in a situation. Therefore, the representation of the generic structure elements must somehow consistently reflect this principle of co-operativeness. The elements do not just represent a speech act; they represent sequences of speech acts.

However, this is not the case in the linear representation of the GSP elements. On one hand, GREETING, SALE INITIATION, SALE ENQUIRY and FINIS are represented as products of a joint effort. On the other, SALE REQUEST and SALE COMPLIANCE are represented interactively as two separate elements, *C*'s and *S*'s, although one would expect that the principle of joint effort for realizing this particular stage of social activity would also apply. Also, SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE are interactively role-related in Hasan's GSP. SALE is something that *S* only does (announces the cost of the purchase to *C*), whereas in PURCHASE the sole work is done by *C* (hands over the money). It seems unlikely that PURCHASE CLOSURE (*S*'s acceptance of *C*'s money and giving the change) would be a different part of the social activity than the actual handing over of the money, PURCHASE, or the original request for payment, SALE. These three elements, therefore, are considered later in this study as parts of one and the same element, PAY.

A further aspect, which the collected data has brought into focus, is the need to somehow come to grips with including the non-verbal realizations of activities in the representations of generic structures. Hasan (1977: 229; Halliday & Hasan 1980: 26) does recognize that the elements may have non-

linguistic realizations, but argues that as linguists we should primarily be concerned with the linguistic realizations of generic elements. This 'primariness' is projected in the GSP elements set up by Hasan; for example the non-verbal handing over of the goods to *C* is a part of SALE COMPLIANCE and is not given an independent status. But frequently *S* hands over the goods only after the payment has been completed. Consequently, GOODS HANDOVER must be considered an independent element in service encounters, although in the realization of this element language has only an ancillary role to play.

3.1.2 Are obligatory elements genre defining?

In Hasan's approach the presence/absence of obligatory GSP elements functions as a criterion for classifying texts into a particular genre. If a text does not include the obligatory elements, it is either incomplete or its generic membership cannot be determined, i.e. it is a non-text. Considering the data collected for this study, a genre-defining element in a TA-context is the BOOKING. This element would function as a 'marker' of a TA-text. However, a quick look at the TA-texts in the Appendix will show that not all TA-texts include such a genre-defining element.

The GSP does not take into account the fact that almost at any stage of the social process, while it is being created, interactants may opt out of realizing an element, even the stages which are usually 'perceived' as obligatory. For example, one may enter a service location in order to find out a piece of information, to get goods that are free (e.g. brochures and maps in a TA), or after compliance *C* may simply decide not to buy anything, in which case SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE are all non-applicable as generic elements of a text in that situation. One may also opt out of interaction at an early stage by refusing the service offer. Thus, all the suggested obligatory elements are unrealized in this short, but still fully functional text. In such cases, it has to be decided whether such a text where buying is not effected is equivalent/not equivalent to a text where buying is carried out. Could two such texts possibly belong to the same genre, although one lacks some or all the obligatory elements? Surely when one compares, for example, Texts 9 and 11 in the Appendix, where in the former no buying of the ticket or booking takes place and where in the latter this activity is realized, one can find similarities both in the generic elements as well as in their lexicogrammatical realizations. This strongly indicates that they are texts of the same genre, in spite of the fact that Text 9 totally lacks the obligatory SALE, PURCHASE CLOSURE and PURCHASE. Describing Text 9, where the customers receive the information and brochures from a travel agent, as 'incomplete' or 'non-text', seems totally unsatisfactory. The order and inclusion/exclusion of elements in the actual realized generic structures in service encounters is more flexible than is implied by the GSP and an account of such variation demands a dynamic representation of genre (a flowchart, presented in Section 3.7 below).

As discussed above, the values of Field of context of situation may lead to genre-specific obligatory elements in service encounters (BOOKING, POSTING). Previous work on casual conversation has shown how changes in the Tenor

value of context of situation result in setting up four different linear GSPs for casual conversations (for details, see Ventola 1977, 1978, 1979). However, it is doubtful whether one is in fact dealing with four different genres. The generic term casual conversation refers to the kind of talk one finds taking place in meetings between friends and strangers on cafés, on trains, in the street, etc.

Initially, the contextual values of casual encounter seem to determine the following elements for the GSP of casual conversation: GREETING (G), ADDRESS (Ad; realized usually by vocatives), DIRECT APPROACH (Ap-D; personal conversation about the interactants' health, clothing, family), INDIRECT APPROACH (Ap-I; contextual talk about the weather, the immediate surroundings), CENTERING (C; talk about more involved topics, interactants' 'world views'), IDENTIFICATION (Id; the interactants introduce themselves), LEAVE-TAKING (Lt; indicating the anticipated ending of the conversation) and GOOD-BYE (Gb). But the ways in which casual conversations unfold vary according to the changes in values of Tenor, social distance: friend-to-friend or stranger-to-stranger, and also Mode, sociability: contact or social involvement.³ It has been found that whereas friends start casual conversations by GREETING and then launch on either to INDIRECT APPROACH or DIRECT APPROACH, strangers are more cautious with one another and consequently start their casual conversations with a safe situational INDIRECT APPROACH. This change in Tenor influences the GSP representation in the following manner: whereas INDIRECT APPROACH is optional for friends and mobile in sequence in its relation to DIRECT APPROACH, it is obligatory for strangers and its sequence is fixed to precede DIRECT APPROACH (see Figure 3.1 below). Similarly, the changes of Mode, sociability, alter the GSP inventory of casual conversations.

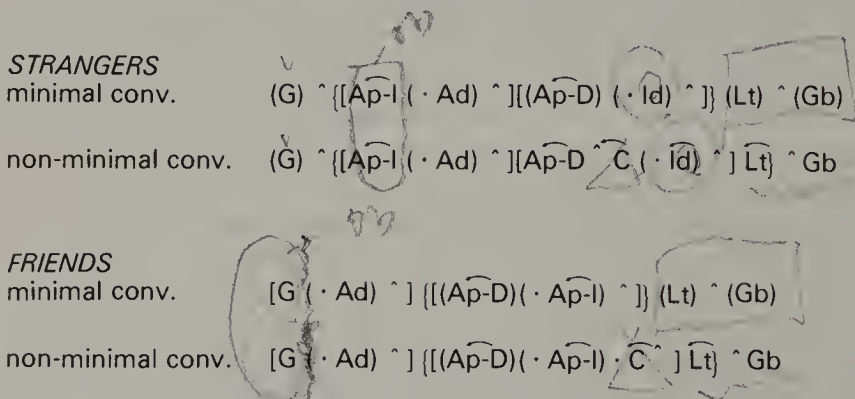


Figure 3.1 Four different GSPs for casual conversation (Ventola 1979:283)

The change from contact function, minimal conversation, to social involvement function, non-minimal conversation, is realized by the obligatoriness of CENTERING in the GSP.⁴ The GSPs of contact conversations, which simply keep the channels open, have no CENTERING, whereas the GSPs of social involvement conversations include CENTERING. The minimal and non-minimal conversations also differ in that in minimal conversations both LEAVETAKING and GOODBYE are optional, whereas in non-minimal conversations the interactants are obliged after a lengthy involvement to include both

these elements. Furthermore, the values of Tenor and Mode also seem to interact, when determining the GSP. In contact conversations among friends all elements except GREETING are optional, whereas in contact conversations among strangers all elements except INDIRECT APPROACH are optional. The changes in Tenor and Mode values determine not one, but four different GSPs for casual conversations in the described context of situation.

The question now arises: do texts which actually realize these four different GSPs belong to four different genres? In Hasan's formulation, they should be considered as belonging to four different, related, genres, because their contextual configurations vary and result in changes in the inventory of obligatory elements and their sequence. On the other hand, one can represent the differences in realization dynamically with a flowchart representation. There, for example, the two types of APPROACHES can easily be alternated according to the relevant social distance or the CENTERING can be skipped when the function of the encounter is simply to keep the communication channels open (see Halliday & Plum 1985).

In short, it seems that slight changes in contextual configuration will frequently lead to differences in the inventory of GSP. Thus, if the view is adopted that the obligatory elements are genre defining, it eventuates to a recognition of numerous GSPs to the texts which in their overall function are the same and which in their linguistic realizations are clearly related to each other. Thus, a generalization concerning the agnateness of texts is lost. Capturing genre agnateness and variations of generic structures in texts more effectively has led to adopting a connotative semiotics framework for the analyses of service encounters.

3.2 GENRE-REGISTER-LANGUAGE: SEMIOTIC COMMUNICATION PLANES

The notions register and genre, which are used to capture text relatedness in the Halliday/Hasan framework, are considered linguistic abstractions on the semantic level. In the connotative semiotics framework, which has been elaborated by Martin and a research group working with him,⁵ register and genre are proposed as semiotic systems within their own right, just as language is a semiotic system. The difference between genre and register, on the one hand, and language, on the other, is that language is in Hjelmslevian terms a 'denotative' semiotic system, whereas genre and register are 'connotative' semiotic systems (for a discussion, see Martin 1984b, 1985). Denotative here means that language is a system on a semiotic communication plane which has its own means of organizing expression, phonology. Connotative means that register and genre are systems on semiotic communication planes which have no expression, no phonology, in their own right (Martin 1985: 249). They are forced to use other semiotic planes for their realization. This utilization is seen as genre and register being 'stacked up against language' (Martin 1985: 249), so that genre uses register as an expression plane and register in turn uses language as an expression

plane. Thus, within the connotative semiotics framework genre and register are semiotic abstractions, which organize or determine the nature of linguistic patterns in texts. The framework shares with the Halliday/Hasan framework the view of the language plane as a tri-stratal organization. The description of phonological and lexicogrammatical systems and structures follows that presented generally in the Halliday/Hasan framework (see Halliday 1985a). But, rather than seeing the third stratum in terms of ideational, interpersonal and textual semantic networks, the third stratum is a discourse stratum, with distinct text creating systems which generate discourse structures. Thus, in connotative semiotics, genre is realized by register which in turn is realized by language (the framework is introduced in Martin 1984b, 1985; Ventola 1985; forthcoming a). The realizational relationships are captured by Figure 3.2.

As can be seen, each plane is envisaged as being described paradigmatically and syntagmatically, the systems and structures of the lower plane realizing the systems and structures of the higher plane. The presentation of what is meant by the semiotic planes and why they have been set up, takes for granted the familiar aspects in systemic linguistics and proceeds straight to the proposed theoretical concepts. In other words, the strata of phonology and lexicogrammar are treated below as given, whereas the stratum of discourse and the planes of register and genre will be new.

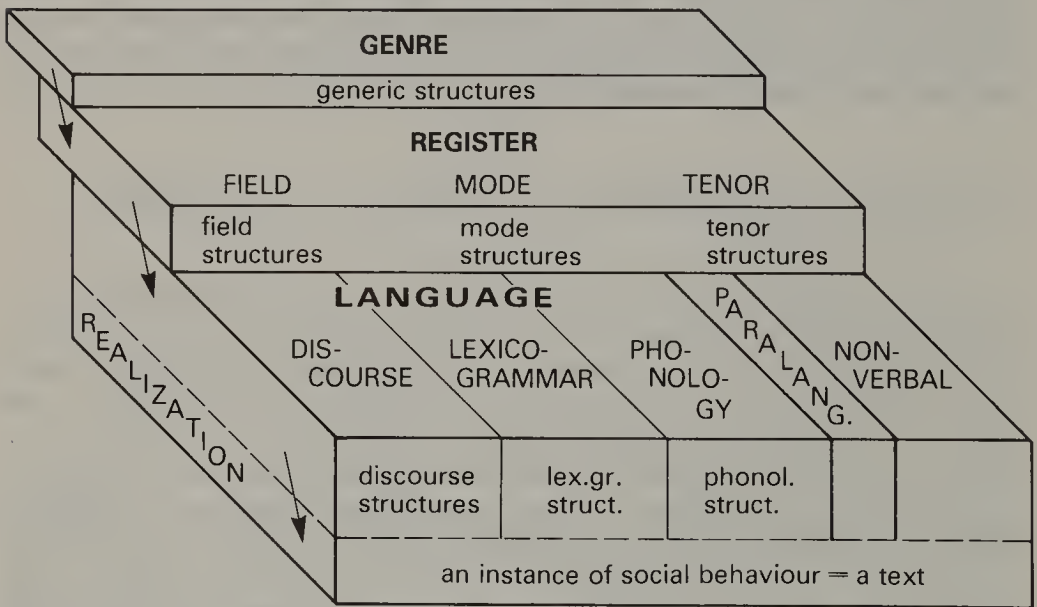


Figure 3.2 The semiotic communication planes

3.3 DISCOURSE

The discourse stratum, which is put forward for the language plane, is seen in terms of discourse systems which are 'responsible' for text creation (see Martin 1981a, b, 1983a, b, 1984b, 1985, forthcoming; Martin and Rothery

1980, 1981; Ventola 1985, forthcoming a, b). This level handles interrelations in a text. The discourse stratum presents the options which are open to interactants in a text creation process as networks of discourse systems. The system networks which operate on the discourse stratum are REFERENCE, LEXICAL COHESION and CONJUNCTION. The discourse systems also include CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, which involves the structural realizations of options from both the EXCHANGE and SPEECH FUNCTION system networks (see Berry 1981a, b, c; Martin forthcoming; Ventola forthcoming a, b). The stratum of discourse is needed to explain those features of texts which cannot be explained in terms of constituency, units of higher ranks consisting of the elements of units of a lower rank. Discourse systems create dependency structures, which hold between units of the same kind in texts: the meaning of an item in a text is its discourse relation to an antecedent item of the same kind. In this regard, the structures are created dynamically as a text unfolds. Consequently, there is no rank involved on the discourse stratum (the exception being CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, see Chapter 4).

Martin (forthcoming: 2) proposes a set of discourse units which function as entry conditions to the discourse systems listed above:

message	: CONJUNCTION, CONTINUITY
speech act	: CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE
participant	: REFERENCE
thing/event/quality	: LEXICAL COHESION

To elaborate, a message is a conjunctively relatable unit; a speech act is a unit which selects independently for MOOD and realizes moves in exchange slots; a participant, which may be a person, place or thing, is an entity whose identity can be retrieved through REFERENCE; and, finally, things, events and qualities are units which form lexical patterns in texts. As these systems will be used in Part II of this study for analyses of service encounter texts, they will not be discussed further here.

The reasons for positing discourse as the third stratum are as follows. Firstly, discourse will be seen in a strictly Firthian sense, i.e. both paradigmatically and syntagmatically in terms of system and structure (the Hallidayan semantics only posits semantic networks and so far only limited, very context-dependent semantic networks have been published, see Halliday 1973, 1975, 1978, 1984). Secondly, discourse captures text meanings: a text, rather than a clause or a clause complex is seen as the basic unit of our everyday interactions. In the creation of texts, the system of REFERENCE (Chapter 6) appears to generate textual meanings, LEXICAL COHESION (Chapter 5) bears experiential meanings (experiential function being a part of the ideational function of language) and CONJUNCTION (Chapter 7) seems to encode logical meanings in texts (logical function being the other part of the ideational function of language). The elaboration of the posited discourse systems and structures is by no means complete or comprehensive. The study of their realization in texts in particular is still only in its initial stages. One has to keep in mind that the study of a text and

specifically the study of texts of the same type (genre typology and register typology) is a relatively recent phenomenon compared with the study of a clause. A third reason is that without a third stratum it is difficult to explain incongruent realizations of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE (Chapter 4); in other words, why something which looks grammatically like a polar-interrogative MOOD realization in fact realizes a Command in SPEECH FUNCTION, for example *could you open the window please* vs. *open the window*. This phenomenon has proved problematic in the theory of speech acts where the 'grammar of the speech act' is often totally ignored. Finally, a further argument for the stratification of the discourse stratum is, following Firth's views, 'the dispersal of meaning'. Languages have developed more than one grammatical way of realizing a particular meaning/meanings. For example, 'modality' in English is realized by modal verbs, modal adverbs (*perhaps*, *probably*), tag questions, polar-interrogative MOOD, various lexical items (*doubt*, *sceptic*, *distrust*, *incredible*) and so on (for further examples, see Martin 1983c).

3.4 REGISTER

On the plane of the register Field, Mode and Tenor are no longer seen as extralinguistic contextual variables to which certain context-specific values are assigned and which then give rise to registerial and generic features in texts (as in the Halliday/Hasan framework). Rather, it will be posited that it is possible to work out and formalize in system networks the relevant choices of object and activity orientation, of participant relations and of communication channels open to speakers of a speech community. In other words, the FIELD, TENOR and MODE networks will formally capture the kind of institutions we participate in (see Benson & Greaves 1981; Plum 1984; Martin in press), the ranges of role, status, power, solidarity, affect and contact relations in respect to other members of the speech community (Brown & Gilman 1960/72; Poynton 1984, 1985) and orientation to communication channels which one can select for transmitting messages (action/reflection, face-to-face/non-face-to-face) (Martin & Rothery 1980, 1981; Martin 1984b, 1985).

When, in the connotative semiotic framework, the plane of genre is 'stacked up' against register (which is stacked up against language), the view of register is necessarily redefined, from its earlier traditional interpretation as a linguistic reflection of context of situation. But to make the meaning of such an argument clear, one first has to consider what genre is and why it is seen to determine the register choices and consequently linguistic choices in texts.

3.5 GENRE

A statement that language is used for doing things does not surprise anyone. Neither does a statement that our doings have a purpose. I have, for

example, today used language to buy some groceries, participated in an academic seminar, written a postcard and of course am at the moment using language to explicate an academic theory on genre. The role of such purposes has proved problematic in linguistic frameworks (for a discussion, see also Martin 1984b). Van Dijk (1977, 1980) sees such purposes in the theory of action, de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981) and Fawcett (1980) see purposes in the domain of 'the knowledge of the world', whereas Gregory, in his early work (1967), sees purposes as a linguistic correlation between the Tenor of discourse (functional tenor) and the functional addressee relationships in the situation, and more recently accounts for purposes in 'gnostological knowledge', which, when instantiated, become incorporated within individual situation and discourse (Gregory 1985a, b; Malcolm 1985c). Halliday (1978: 146) handles purposes as a linguistic reflection of Mode, although sometimes purposes seem to be a feature of both Field and Mode. For example, in the following description of context, 'instruction' seems to imply 'didactic': 'Field: Instruction, the instruction of a novice . . . Mode: . . . Didactic and explanatory' (Halliday 1978: 226). Hasan's (Halliday & Hasan 1980: 18) purpose in the context of situation of a service encounter is a Field value: 'economic transaction: purchase of retail goods'. In the connotative semiotic framework, such purposes are captured by the plane of genre.

Genres are how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them . . . the term genre is used . . . to embrace each of the linguistically realised activities which comprise so much of our culture . . . it represents at an abstract level the verbal strategies used to accomplish social purposes of many kinds [Martin 1985: 250-1].

As the quotation shows, Martin speaks about 'verbalised social purposes'. However, when a social activity such as a service encounter is considered, it is necessary to expand the notion of social purposes to include non-verbal aspects in it also: goals in a service encounter are also achieved by other semiotic systems (gestures, kinesics, proxemics, etc.) than language. Consequently, the plane of genre here refers to goal-orientated, both verbally and non-verbally realized semiotic systems or social processes which are established and maintained within a society and which, thus, comprise the culture of the society. A semiotically orientated linguist is, of course, naturally interested in the semiotic systems expressed by the language plane, whereas other semiotic systems (e.g. dance, music) are left to be the domain of other semioticians. Genre can be paralleled with Malinowski's context of culture (Ventola 1977,⁶ 1981; Martin 1984b). When context of culture is perceived as a network of semiotic genre systems comprising the culture, culture is no longer 'something we cannot hope to describe' (Halliday 1978: 109).

Why is genre then needed as an abstraction underlying register and language? Genre constrains the possible combinations of choices from the register networks of FIELD, MODE and TENOR in texts of the same type (Martin 1985: 250). Readers must admit that in a Western culture the FIELD choice of 'rat' as an ingredient in a recipe does not seem appropriate.

However, 'according to a traditional Guangxi recipe (China), the rats are steamed, then soaked in brine, ginger, and pepper for a few hours, then pressed into a steak. After a day's airing, the rat is cooked on top of a mixture of rice, bran, and sesame oil "until the aroma of the meat permeates the whole kitchen".'⁷ Similarly unacceptable to Westerners is 'dog' as a FIELD choice, which also seems to be an acceptable choice in recipes of delicacies in some Asian countries.⁸ Many societies still openly allow, in a particular type of service encounter, 'woman' as an object-orientation choice of FIELD; brothels are institutionalized as locations for such buying/selling activity in very much the same way as the butcher's is an established location for buying/selling 'meat'. The difference between service encounters where a woman is bought/sold and those where meat is bought/sold is that the former are not valued in society. Walking into a brothel and buying a woman is very much a 'hush-hush' activity in most societies. These examples illustrate how genres or social processes are ultimately validated culturally (see also Hasan 1981: 112).

Above, the motivation of setting genre as 'a guardian' for the choices of FIELD, MODE and TENOR combinations has been discussed generally, as a potential for texts as wholes. But in the actualization process, i.e. when a text unfolds as a structure, and during this unfolding achieves the goal/purpose of the social activity of a particular kind, the genre plane seems to do more than just distribute particular FIELD/MODE/TENOR combinations throughout the text. It actually regulates what combinations of FIELD/MODE/TENOR (i.e. what combinations of institutional focus, participant relations and communication channels) are relevant at a particular stage of the unfolding of activity. Martin (1985: 251) uses the term schematic structure for such a staged unfolding of a text: 'a way of getting from A to B in the way a given culture accomplishes whatever the genre in question is functioning to do in that culture'. Here the term generic structure is preferred, although the term schematic structure is occasionally used as a synonym (both terms differ from Hasan's GSP in that they are not considered as 'generating potentials', but are actualized structures, empirically observable in the conglomerations of certain types of linguistic patterns in the realized structural elements; the generative 'choice' potentials of genres are captured within the introduced framework by system networks and the 'structure' potentials by a flowchart representation, see Sections 3.6 and 3.7 below). It is important to note that the kind of 'guiding' the genre plane exercises on the register plane in regulating the changes of FIELD/MODE/TENOR orientations in generic elements is by no means meant to be a 'semiotic straightjacket' for members of a society. For example, in genres of social interaction the goals and purposes are very often only set for the beginning of the encounter and they may change or be negotiated during the interaction (leading to genre embeddings, genre mixing, genre switching, discussed in Section 3.8 below; see also Hasan 1981: 115). This kind of semiotic 'variation' is 'built in' in the representations of generic systems, i.e. in system networks and flowcharts, which are introduced next.

3.6 A SYNOPTIC SYSTEM OF GENRE—TEXT AS A PRODUCT

The principles of the realizational cycle between genre—register—language have been outlined above. What has, however, not yet been specified is how the generic structure sequences are generated on the genre plane. The generic structure generation task is 'delegated' to genre system networks, which in their features capture not only similarities in texts of the same kind, but also similarities in texts of a similar kind (sub-generic or agnate qualities of texts). A tentative network representation of service encounter genre has been put forward by Martin (1985:253–4; the network is based on the distinctions made in Ventola 1983a). The network and its realization statements are reproduced here for easy reference as Figure 3.3 and Table 3.1.

The hypothesis is that the generic choices in the culture of a society are captured by generic system networks, which define how one genre is related to another by evermore delicate features. Not much is yet known about the nature of oppositions on the genre plane. Also, Martin's network must be considered a tentative one. Ultimately, the task of drawing networks must be based on empirical analyses of data which consist of a range of related genres (sub-genres).

When the network is contrasted with the linear GSP representation, put forward by Hasan, it must, firstly, be noted that both share a very important feature: the concept of text variation is in-built from the beginning. This is what makes these two frameworks stand out when compared with the other text approaches reviewed in Chapter 1, all of which seem to have very rigid notions of text structure variation, if captured by the models at all. But, when the network representation is set side by side with the linear GSP representation, the flexibility of the network in capturing genre agnateness and the hypothesis of systematic realizational links with the register and language planes makes the network representation more lucrative. It appears to have more explanatory potential than the GSP. Firstly, it has been noted above how in the GSPs of such service encounters as post office and travel agency interactions, the obligatory, genre-defining elements *POSTING* and *BOOKING* do not always appear in the texts. In the network representation two TA-texts are classified the same on the basis of their shared features. The text which also includes *BOOKING* has simply selected more delicate features than the text which does not include *BOOKING*. Thus, in the network representation the presence of obligatory elements is not made genre-defining. Secondly, in the GSP optional elements define genre agnateness, but the question has been raised as to how the optional elements of one genre are related to the optional elements in another genre. In the network representation these features can be brought together with the other features which define generic qualities of texts. Thirdly, if a text does not include the elements defined in the GSP, the text must be considered a non-text or an incomplete text. In the network representation the text created in a service situation where the purchase of goods is not eventuated (e.g. due to lack of goods) is still considered a functional text, but its feature selection in the network has not proceeded to the stage where the purchase is realized.

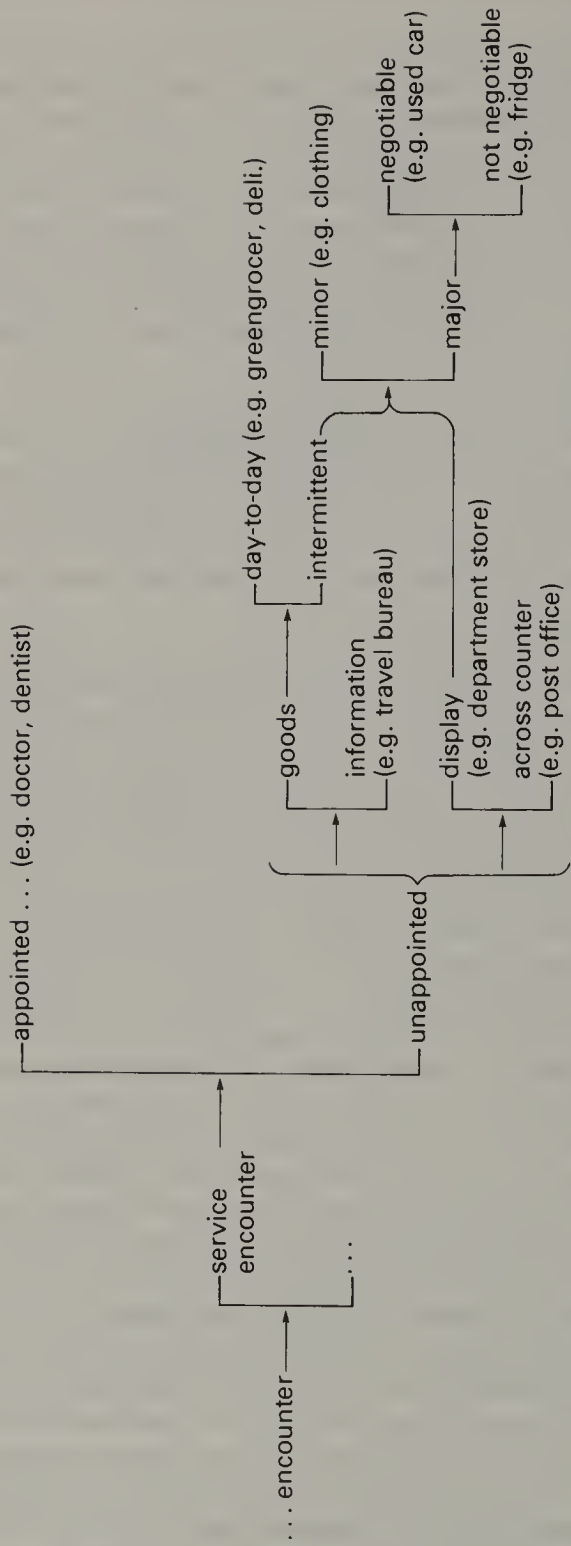


Figure 3.3 An illustration of service encounter agnation network (Martin 1985:253)

Table 3.1 Realization statements to Figure 3.3 (Martin 1985: 254)

[encounter]	+ Greeting; + Good-bye
[service encounter]	+ Service; + Resolution; + Closing
[appointed]	+ Wait (<i>Won't you have a seat; the doctor will be with you in a moment.</i>)
[unappointed]	+ Service Bid
[goods]	+ Pay; + Goods Handover
[across counter]	+ Attendance Allocation
[intermittent]	+ Sales Pitch (persuasion to buy); + Reassurance (assertion of goods' goodness if bought)
[major]	+ Delivery (arrangement of transportation or pick-up)
[negotiable]	+ Bargain (negotiation of price)

Some benefits of genre system networks, such as Martin's for example, have been introduced above. But when natural service encounter data is analysed, several problems also occur with the genre agnation network presented by Martin. In the description of the collected service encounter data, the network would specify for texts the elements GREETING and GOODBYE by the feature selection [encounter], SERVICE, RESOLUTION and CLOSING by [service encounter] and SERVICE BID by [unappointed]. Then, for example in post office texts, ATTENDANCE ALLOCATION (TURN ALLOCATION in Ventola 1983a and Martin 1985) will be specified by the selection of [across counter] and PAY and GOODS HANDOVER by the selection of [goods]. This seems initially reasonable, but when one looks at natural data one can immediately find texts where these elements are not in fact realized, although the genre features seem to have been selected in the texts. For example, Text 4 in the Appendix has no GREETING or GOODBYE, yet [encounter] seems appropriate. Moreover, there is no SERVICE BID, although the feature [unappointed] seems to have been selected from the network.

Also, in its present form the genre network does not specify sequence; that is, what the possible acceptable sequences of the service encounter processes are in a particular culture. When we participate in social activities (i.e. realize genres) in our own societies, we are socialized into the permissible sequences of genres and simply take such sequences for granted. It is only when we enter foreign societies that we realize that social processes, genres, may be sequenced quite differently in other cultures. It is almost certain that every visitor to a foreign society can recount anecdotally his experiences of the generic differences. For example, when I first entered a bank in Australia to make my first withdrawal from my bank account, I took my passbook to the clerk behind the counter and stated the sum I wanted to withdraw. I felt embarrassed when the clerk instructed me on the proper sequence of banking in Australia: one first fills out a withdrawal slip and then takes it to the clerk, whereas I expected the clerk to do all the 'paperwork' for me, like in Finland. My first interaction in an Australian post office was equally unsuccessful. I was accustomed to handing the letters back to the post official after having

stuck the stamps on the envelopes. The element *POSTING* is typically a part of the interaction sequence in a Finnish post office. In an Australian post office I was instructed by the slightly annoyed post official to drop my letters into the mail box situated outside the post office. In Australia larger items only are handed over for mailing at the counter. One could easily draw the conclusion that Australian society is 'less service-orientated' than the Finnish one. Such a conclusion would naturally be dangerous, as would one which might state that Soviet society is 'more mistrustful' on the basis that in the Soviet Union customers must pay for the goods before they are actually handed over. The point of the anecdotal examples has been to draw attention to the cultural differences in the unfolding of genres. But the unfolding of genres also varies within one culture and with one type of text. How can the generation of such variant generic structures within one type of text be accounted for? Adopting a dynamic view on text generation may be of assistance here, as will be discussed shortly.

Finally, the realization rules presented by Martin for the genre network for service encounters seem analogical to Hasan's obligatory elements. That is, the selection of a feature from the network is realized by a particular generic structure element. But, as already discussed above, not all elements need appear in the actual text, although the features seem to have been selected. For example, not all texts which deal with goods require the realization of the element *PAY*. The genre network offers a view of service encounter texts as static, synoptic products, where customers go shopping and buy goods. *PAY* is seen as a typical part of the social process in question. The synoptic representation does not capture the fact that at various points of the social process the interactants can opt out from a typical stage of the social process or complete the activity in an alternative way. This representational limitation is largely due to the nature of networks and how they generate structures. One can use the analogue of an 'explosion' to describe the realization of choices from the system networks as structure. Such an 'explosion' can be exemplified by considering the realization of a clause on the lexicogrammatical stratum. The relevant choices from the system networks of *TRANSITIVITY*, *MOOD* and *THEME* are selected simultaneously. The selections 'explode' into one linear structure, a clause. In the same way the selections in the genre network are expected to explode into a linear structure where one element follows another in a predictable sequence. But this view of the unfolding of generic structures is too rigid. It cannot, for example, account for the fact that some elements can reoccur in texts and that some elements may sometimes be left out.

3.7 A DYNAMIC SYSTEM OF GENRE—TEXT AS A PROCESS

The unfolding of a social process in a text does not explode, but is rather negotiated by interactants from element to element. We do not, at every realized instance, go through a social process in exactly the same way. Text creation is also an active, dynamic process where the realization of every generic element, which the synoptic representation shows as typical to the

genre, has to be agreed upon. In other words, we view texts at the same time as products and as processes. To capture the product/process view of texts in the linguistic description requires setting up both synoptic and dynamic representations for genres. A genre network represents a synoptic system, a state potential, which generates in the realization actual, but static texts, i.e. texts which are viewed as finished products. It will be suggested below that the dynamic, process aspects of text creation will be captured by a flowchart representation. A flowchart, thus, represents a dynamic system, an active potential, which generates in the realization actual and active texts, i.e. texts which are viewed as on-going processes (see also Martin 1985). The distinctions are summarized in Figure 3.4 (the arrow = ‘is realized by’).

<i>Network</i>	synoptic system = static-potential	↘	text as a product = actual-static
<i>Flowchart</i>	dynamic system = active-potential	↘	text as a process = actual-active

Figure 3.4 Synoptic view vs. dynamic view: text as a product vs. text as a process.

The dynamic flowchart representation aims to capture the potential linearization of texts over time. It represents the various ways in which interactants continuously have to make decisions about the development and the direction of the social process. The flowchart shows how in the process of creating a text interactants stop and negotiate which elements would appropriately follow and how such elements are realized step by step. Interactants must decide how to proceed and one participant’s decision is dependent on the other participant’s previous decision. The dynamic flowchart captures how in individual texts the synoptic view of genre can be ‘manipulated’ to generate structurally unique texts which nevertheless belong to the same genre. The dynamic aspect is naturally not limited to the genre plane alone. Although the dynamic aspects of the register plane have not yet been described, it is assumed that changes in activity and object orientations (FIELD), in role relationships (TENOR) and in communication channels (MODE) may be described in texts as reflections of the dynamics in register. On the discourse stratum the work on the dynamic systems of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE has been illustrated in Martin (1985) and will be developed further in Chapter 4. On the lexicogrammatical stratum ELLIPSIS at clause rank can also be seen as a dynamic system. A MOOD ellipsis like *read the paper today?* where the Mood Element *have you* has been elided, may be considered a result of a dynamic process. In this context it is not, however, possible to investigate the dynamic potential of systems other than genre. Before presenting the flowchart which generates service encounter texts, it is necessary to consider what the elements are which the synoptic genre network generates and which occur in the service encounter data collected (note that the elements are based on the total data collected, not just the texts in the Appendix; see Chapter 2).

It is customary for interactants in a service encounter to exchange salutations. The variation in the linguistic realizations of the element GREETING (GR) (*good morning—morning*) depends on the frequency of interaction and the social distance between the participants. Thus, before GR is realized in a text on the plane below, register choices (specifically TENOR) have to be 'negotiated' for the element (how this negotiation between genre and register takes place needs to be formulated in the future work both for the synoptic and dynamic systems of genre). To give a concrete example, it is very unlikely that a post official will greet a distinguished-looking middle-aged gentleman with *yes, luv* (tone 2); this realization can, however, be addressed to a less distinguished-looking, young woman. If the interactants have not yet faced each other as the encounter started, and if there is possibly more than one customer present, there is a need for ATTENDANCE ALLOCATION (AA) (*anybody waiting?—I am*). This element involves calling the other participant to approach so that the service interaction can begin. SERVICE BID (SB) (*can I help you—yes*) is an indication of the server's (*S*) readiness to serve and the customer's (*C*) acceptance of the service offer. Sometimes *C* needs to prompt *S* first by drawing *S*'s attention to himself by AA (e.g. *excuse me* or a cough). SERVICE (S) (*could you help me with/show me/tell me/give me 'x'—yes sure*) involves requesting and giving goods/service. *C* has a Need and *S* is expected to provide a Compliance to this Need, to fulfil the Need. If the Need has not been particularized sufficiently, a Specification of the Need may be necessary. Furthermore, if the Compliance has not been sufficient or completely satisfactory to *C*, an Addition to the Compliance may be needed. If SERVICE has to do with material goods, RESOLUTION (R) may occur (*I'll take these—okay*). It is a decision about whether *C* takes the goods or not. Moreover, when material goods are dealt with, the exchange of money, PAY (P) (*it's three fifty—right*), and the exchange of goods, GOODS HANDOVER (GH) (*here you are—[non-verbal handing over]—thanks*) need to be realized. At the end of the encounter interactants often express their appreciation of the encounter, typically with a routine exchange. Lastly, the interactants salute each other at the end, GOOD-BYE (GB) (*goodbye-bye bye*). Although the element realizations have been exemplified above by verbal adjacency pairs, it is important to note that the elements usually involve more than one exchange and that some elements can be realized totally non-verbally. The elements are summarized in Table 3.2.

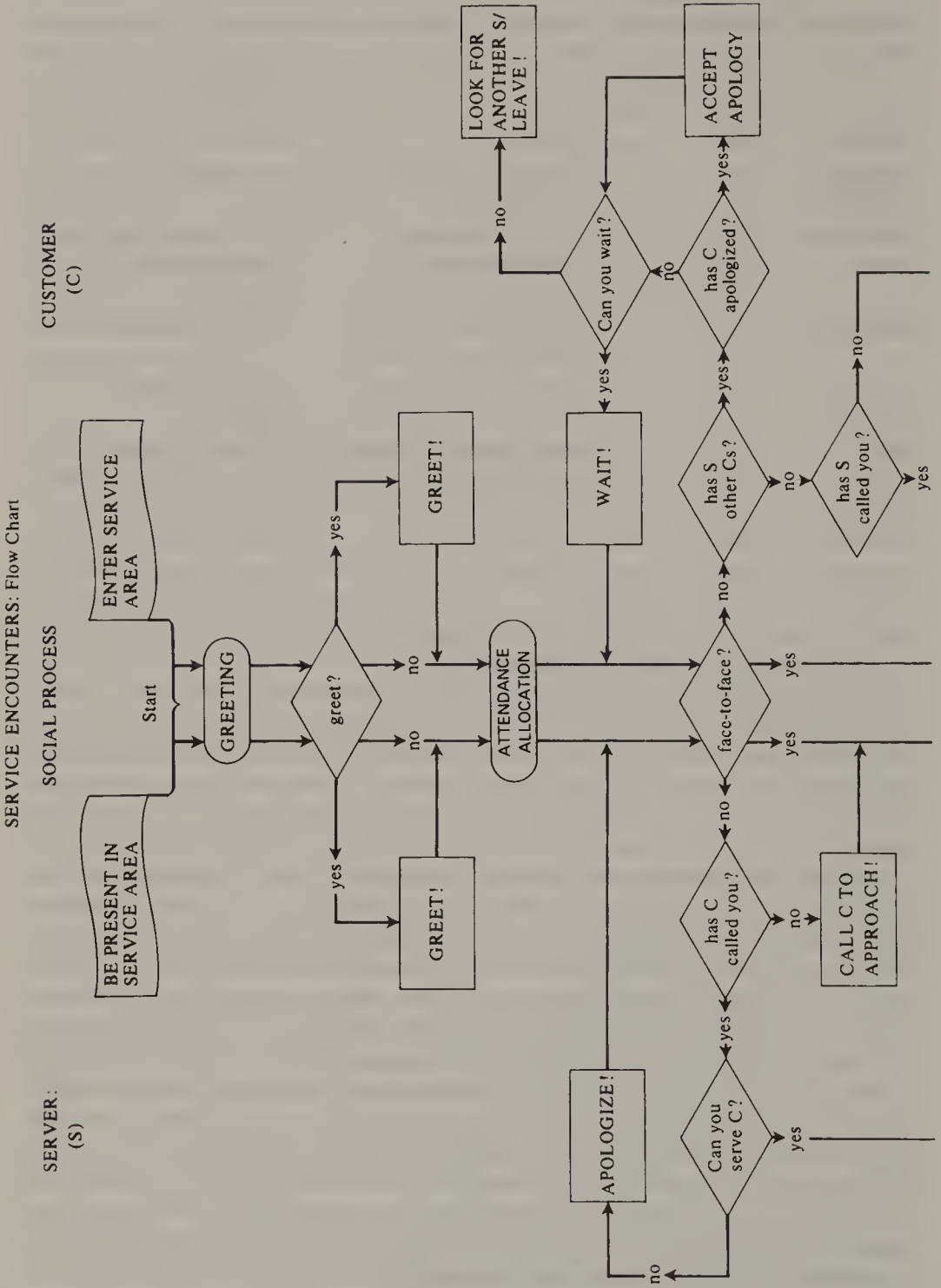
The listing of the elements has been given as a synoptic inventory of the shared elements found in the collected data of service encounters (Chapter 2). The listing represents the canonical sequence of the elements in a social process of service encounters. However, all these elements need not be realized in individual texts which belong to the same genre (evidence for the same generic membership is found by the kind of analyses that will be presented in Part II). This being the case, it is necessary to represent the generation of these elements in actualized social processes more dynamically, thus allowing not only for the leaving out of elements during the unfolding of the social process, but also allowing for more variation in the sequential organization of the social processes than has been represented in the Generic Structure Potential and network representations of service encounter genre.

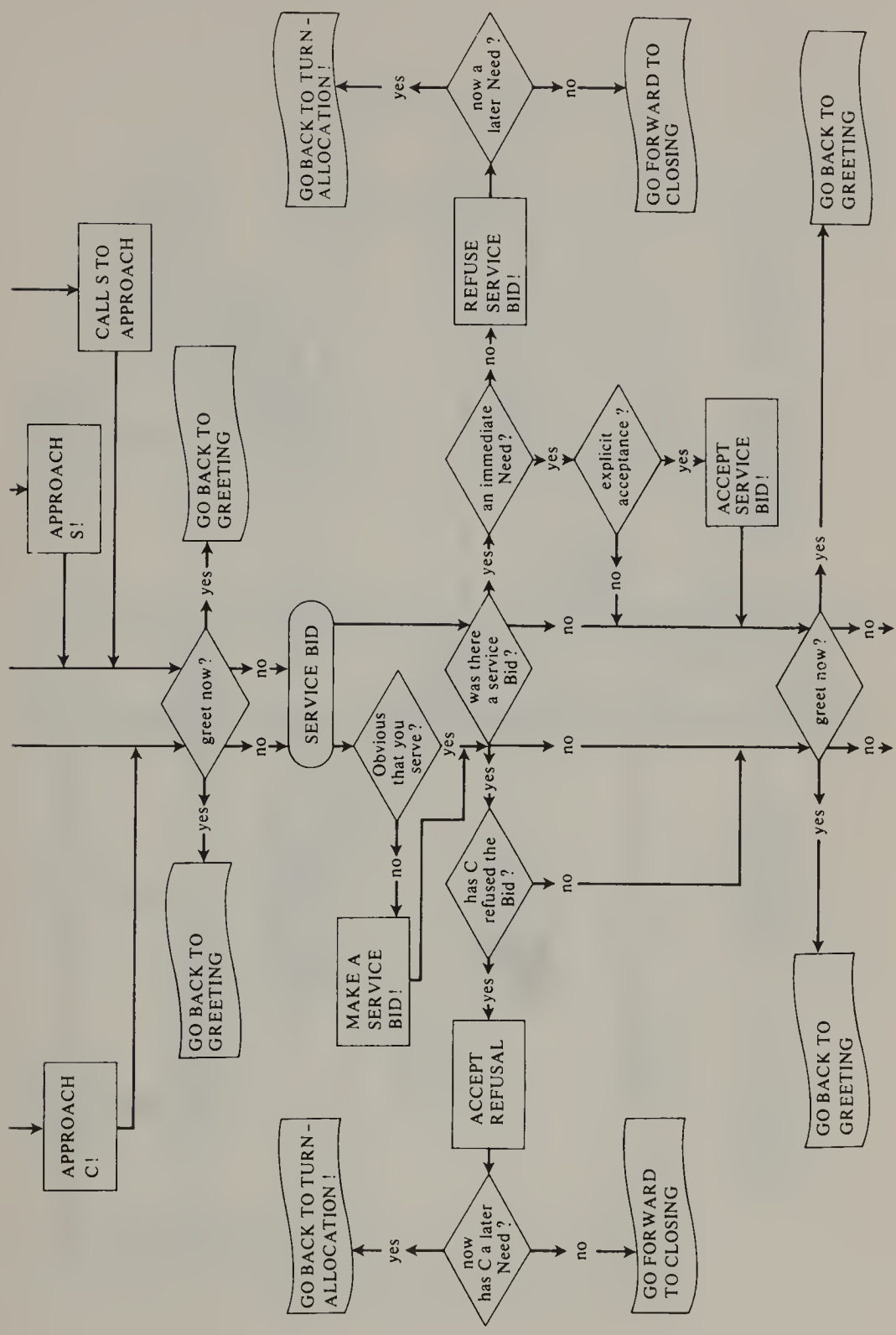
Table 3.2 The shared generic structure elements of agnate service encounters

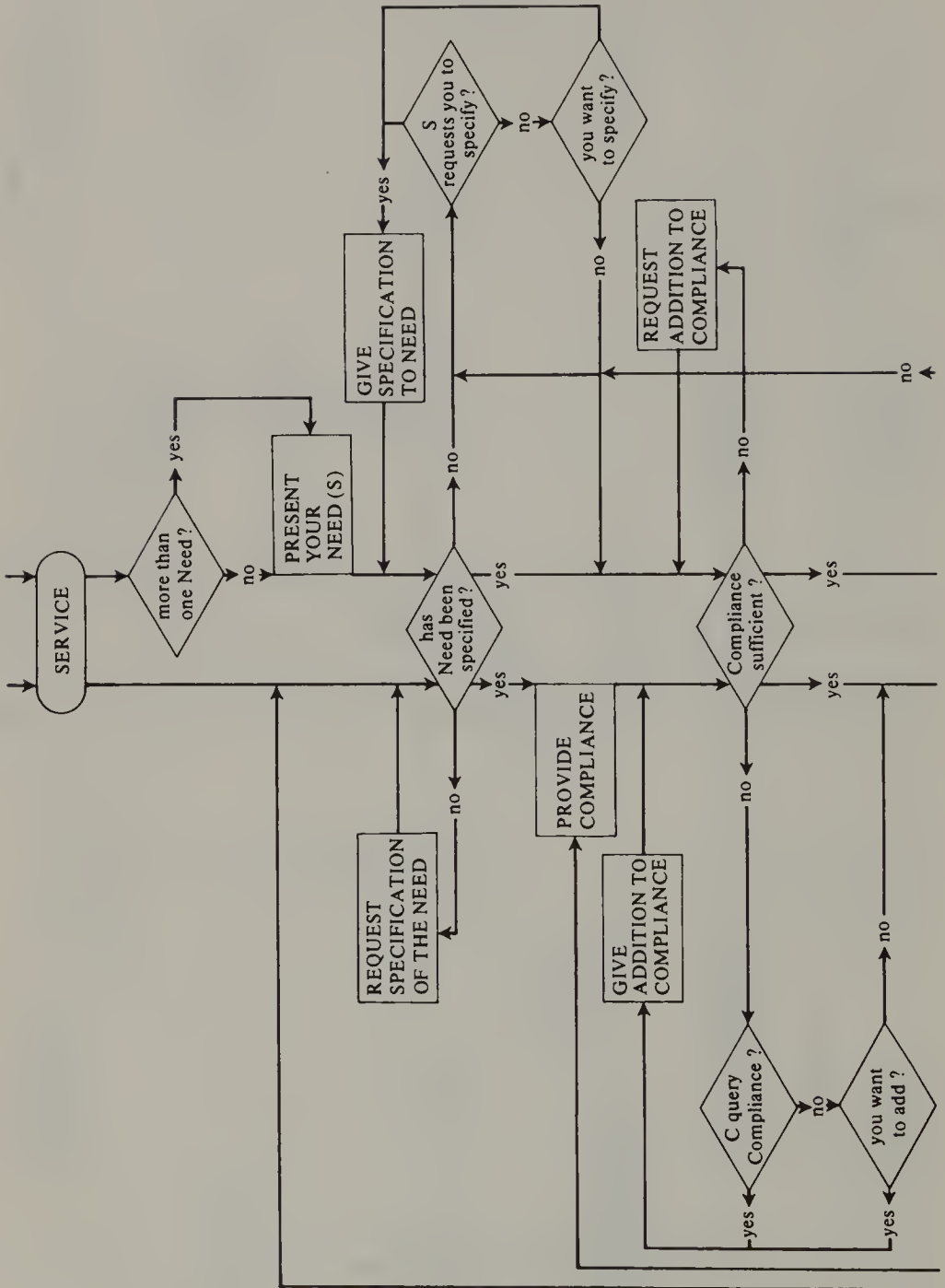
Element	Abbrevia- tion	Function	A simple example of realization
GREETING	GR	—phatic	hello—hi
ATTENDANCE- ALLOCATION	AA	—organization of proximity	who's next—I am
SERVICE BID	SB	—offer of service	can I help you—yes
SERVICE	S	—needs & their provision	could I have . . . ?— yes sure
RESOLUTION	R	—decision to buy/ not to buy	I'll take these—okay
GOODS HANDOVER	GH	—exchange of goods	here you are— thanks
PAY	P	—exchange of money	it's 3.50—right
CLOSING	CL	—appreciation of service	thanks very much— thank you
GOODBYE	GB	—phatic	bye—goodbye

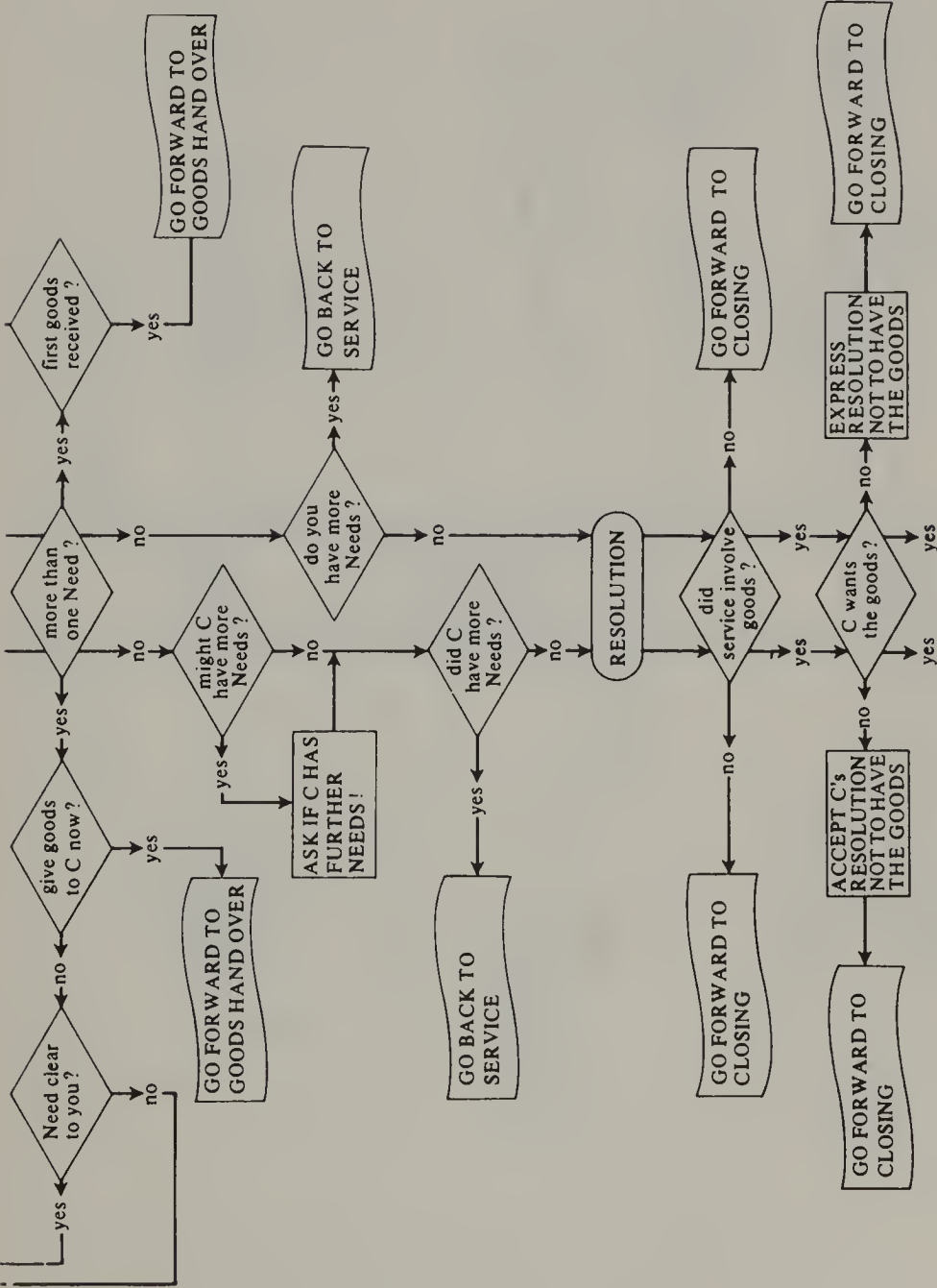
This is done by presenting the 'synoptically shared' elements of the service encounter as a flowchart in Figure 3.5.

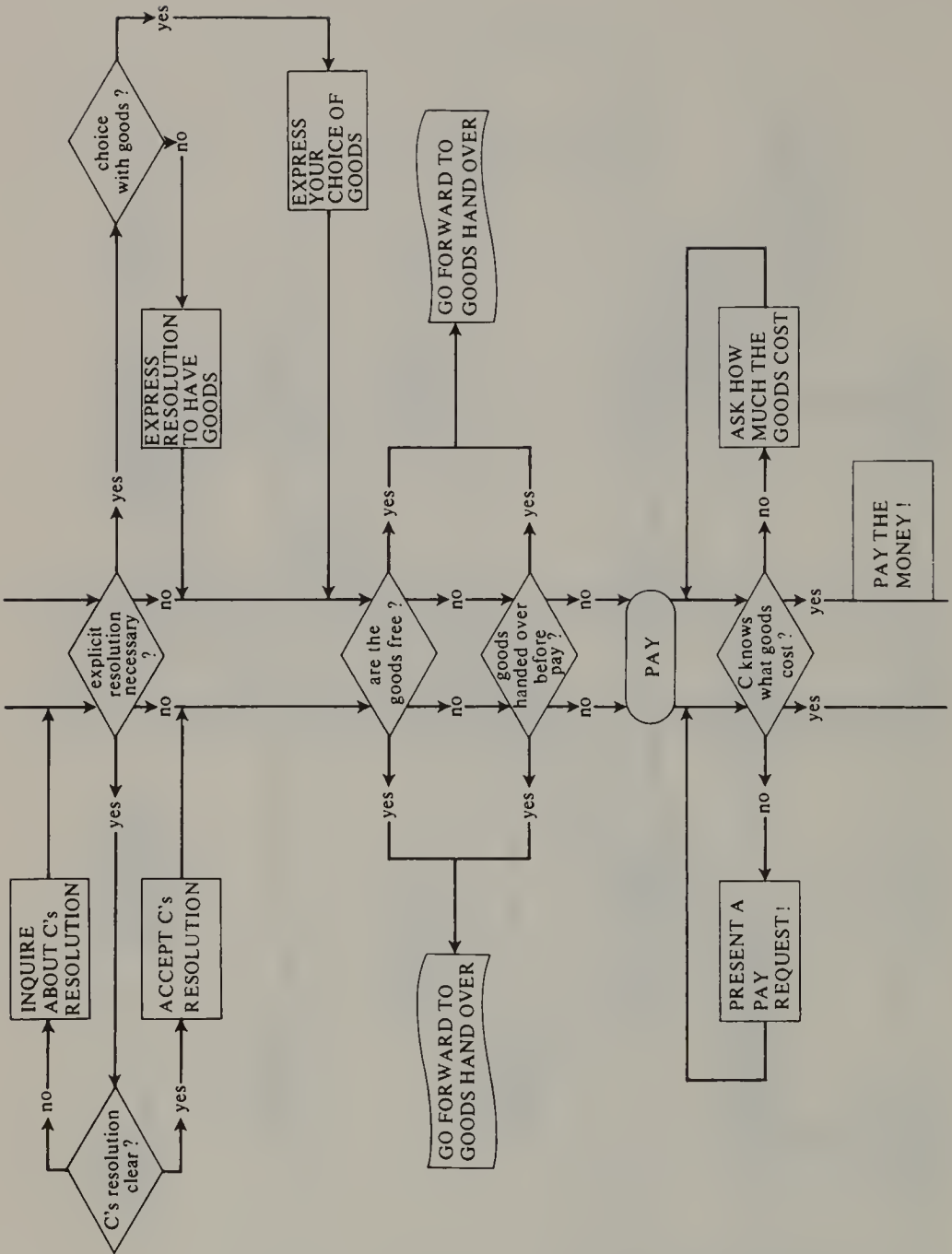
It is probably necessary to go through the 'instructions' or the tactics of the flowchart representation cursorily. In service encounters the social process is created co-operatively by both participants. This social process is represented in the flowchart by the two centre lines leading downwards. The elements are symbolized by oblong circles which are labelled accordingly. When the social process is created, both the Server (*S*) and the Customer (*C*) have their roles to play in the realization of each element (note that *S* and *C* roles can both be realized by one or more participants; i.e. there may be two or more customers present and one or two servers may be co-operatively serving the customers). Therefore, one of the centre lines is *S*'s (on the left) and the other is *C*'s (on the right). Occasionally their paths may meet, when a joint decision which concerns the progression of interaction has to be taken. But the interactants may also have to take individual decisions about the creation of the social process (these individual decisions are naturally based on what the other interactant has just said or done). When this happens, the participants will 'sidetrack' by choosing the paths leading away from the centre line of the social process. The decisions which the participants have to make are symbolized by diamonds. If a diamond appears on the line of only one of the participants, the decision concerns only this participant. The decision arrived at is indicated by the answer 'yes/no' and this then directs the action of the participant. According to the decision taken, 'work to be done' (verbal/non-verbal) will then be assigned to the participants. The work to be done is symbolized by squares, and the particular task is written in upper case within

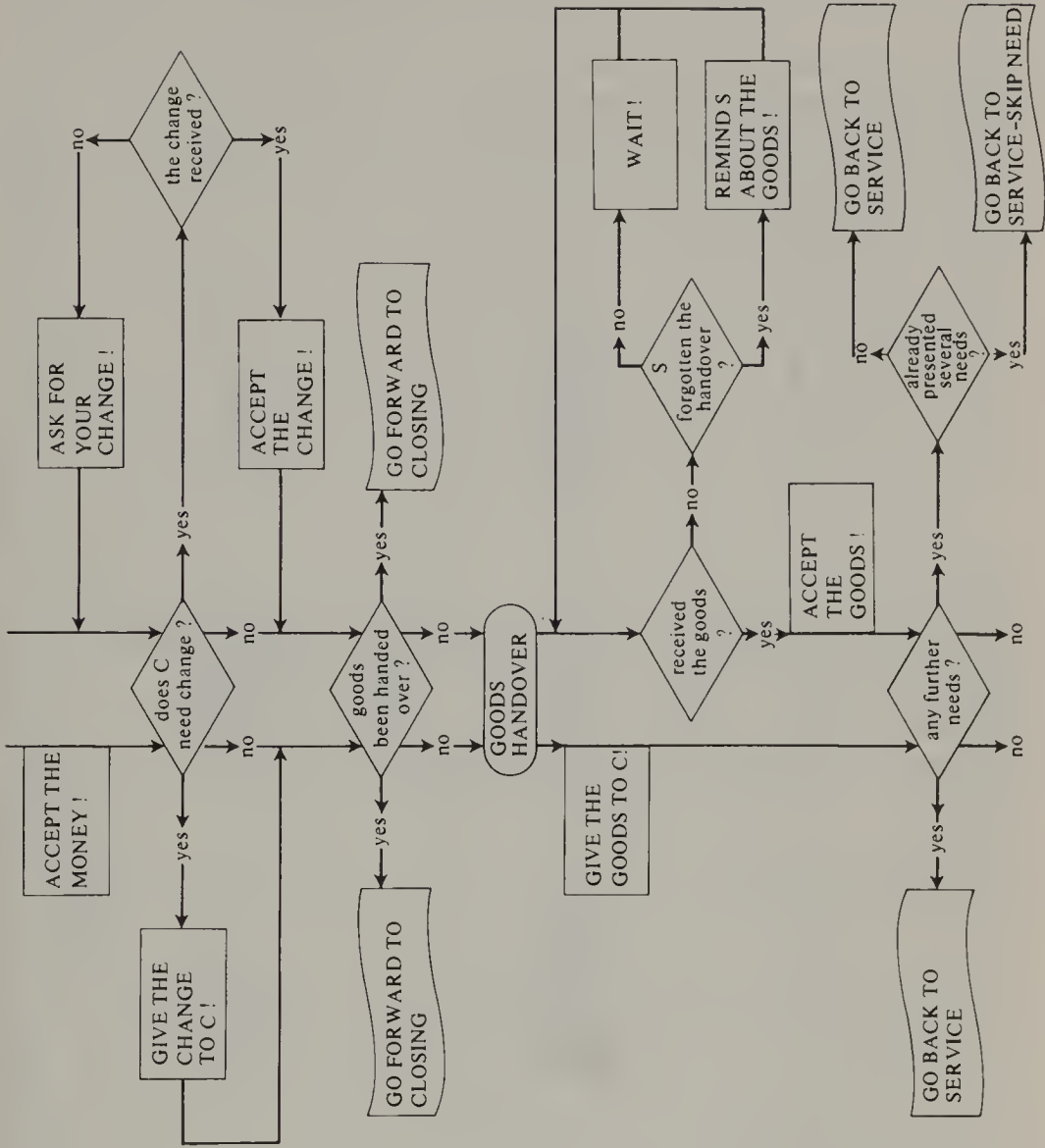












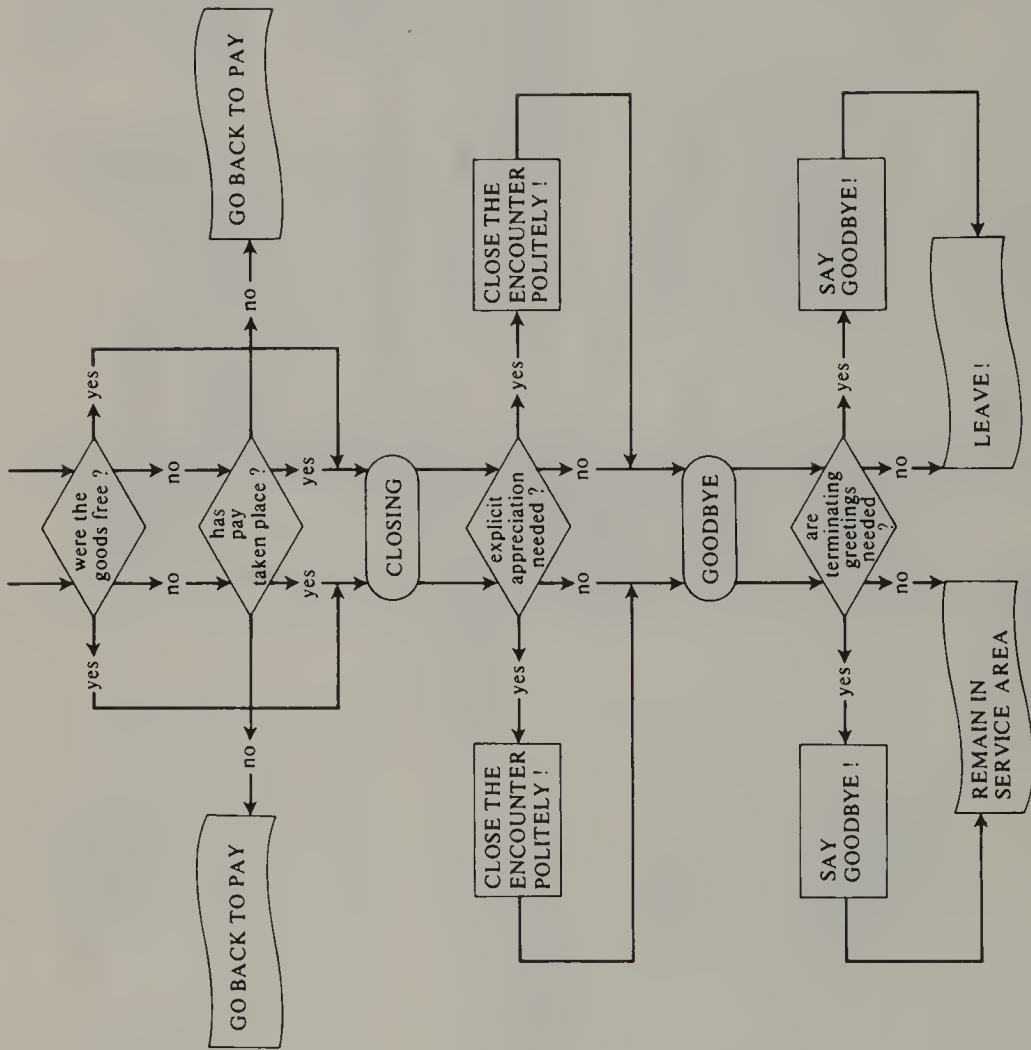


Figure 3.5 The flowchart representation of the service encounter genre (Ventola 1985a: 250–6)

the square. Whenever an assignment has been carried out within an element of the generic structure, the element has been realized. The other type of square, the wavy square, does not realize elements, but simply indicates flow-chart directions to the participants, i.e. to repeat or to leave out an element (GO FORWARD/GO BACK TO . . .).

Naturally there are points in the development of the social process when one of the participants has to, so to speak, wait for their fellow participant to catch up with him/her. What is being done and said often depends on what decisions and assignments the other participant has just taken immediately before. This is the way texts unfold dynamically as processes. At this stage of the flowchart representation the principles of co-ordinating interactants' moves to correspond to linearity in real time are not stated, but obviously need to be worked out in later work. It can only be done on the basis of looking at a large corpus of data and can only be expressed in terms of probabilities. The incorporation of such principles in the flowchart is most likely a matter of setting up, on the basis of natural data, decision-diamonds concerning the actual flow of interaction at appropriate places along the social process line. The relevant answer then blocks some activity in the social process until some other activity has been performed first.

The flowchart seems to handle the problem of non-canonical sequencing of elements in generic structures more satisfactorily than the linear and the network representations do. With the notation of the wavy square, participants are allowed to skip forwards or backwards at various stages of the social process (e.g. one may skip forward to CL from S, if one has only requested free brochures in a travel agency). Recursion is easily handled by the same notation by looping back to the beginning of the element in question (see e.g. SERVICE). Further, interactiveness/co-operativeness of elements presents no problem, since the elements are simultaneously interactive (each participant having a role to play) and co-operative (the element is a result of a joint effort by the participants). Moreover, both linguistic and non-linguistic systems are taken into account, as 'work to be done-squares', which realize the social process, can be acted out verbally or non-verbally. Finally, there is no longer a need to define genres in terms of obligatory elements, because the flowchart representation shows how the realization process of a text may by-pass practically every obligatory element (though of course not all the elements simultaneously!). The membership of a text in a particular genre is thus defined in terms of the shared linguistic and non-linguistic realizations generated by a genre-specific flowchart and of how these realizations are perceived to express the common selections of the register choices in the texts. These issues will be discussed in an exploratory fashion below.

An area where the flowchart clearly needs to be made more explicit is in how it negotiates with, on the one hand, the genre agnation network, and on the other, its realizational plane, register. The present understanding of the 'intercommunication' between these two planes is still extremely limited. Negotiation with the genre agnation network is seen to be necessary when one deals with more specific choices of genres in the network, such as how travel agency texts may have their own specific elements like BOOKING or

CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING, which set them apart from the other two types of service encounters, the shop and the post office. Negotiations with the register plane are necessary throughout the flowchart as it stands now. It has been stated above, for example, that the realizational variation in GR has something to do with the TENOR choices. This is an example of the genre plane 'talking to' the register plane, predictively constraining or specifying the necessary register choices.

Another example of such negotiative constraining between the planes is that when SERVICE is reached, certain specific types of FIELD choices are activated on the register plane. This can be illustrated by Example 4.

Example 4 (additional data—PO)

- S*: you're right [tone 2]
C: can I have a small postal bag please jiffy bag
 {3 secs—*S* gets the bag and hands it over}
S: twenty cents
 {*C* hands over the money and *S* receives it}
S: thank you very much
C: thank you

Throughout this short text, realizations can be found which have to do with 'service talk' generally: *you're right?*, *can I have . . .*, *twenty cents*, *thank you very much*, *thank you*. Just by looking at these linguistic realizations, it is obvious that they must appear in some sort of service encounter, but in what kind cannot be stated more specifically just on the basis of these realizations. These linguistic choices are realizations of the service encounter genre. But what about *postal bag* and *jiffy bag*? These clearly, in the company of the above-mentioned items, mark the text as that of a post office text. The FIELD in SERVICE in this text is clearly marked as that of postal matters. Obviously, when SERVICE is realized in the flowchart, the appropriate, or intended, FIELD for the element has to be negotiated between the planes of genre and register first. Naturally the FIELD choices are 'negotiable', but there is a limit in any culture to the negotiability of the FIELD choices allowed for interactants. For example, in a post office, customers do not say *can I have a return ticket to Melbourne please*. If they do, they are immediately told that they are in the wrong place—in other words, the genre choice is 'right', but the register choice is 'wrong'.

What do these register networks look like with which the genre network seem to negotiate before the realization of a generic element in the flowchart proceeds? The work in this area is only beginning. An illustration of what is envisaged will only be possible presently. The networks presented in Figures 3.6 and 3.7 are considered to be partial networks operating in SERVICE of travel agency service encounters.

As can be seen, the networks in Figures 3.6 and 3.7 represent the FIELD 'travel' in terms of activity and object orientation. At present these very tentative networks have been based on what has been worked out as the FIELD choices in all the travel agency texts analysed. They are meant to capture what

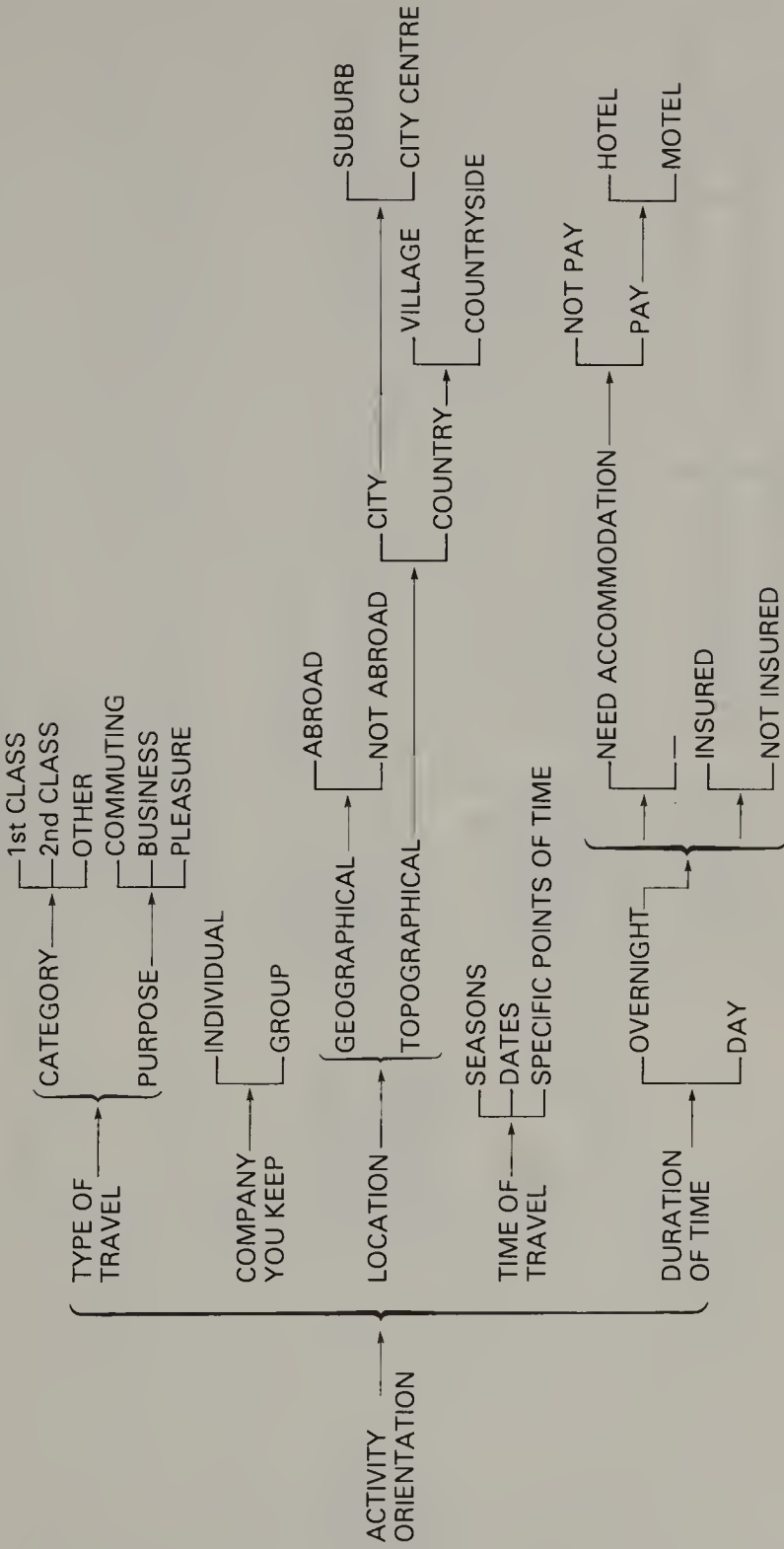


Figure 3.6 Activity orientation in the FIELD 'travel'

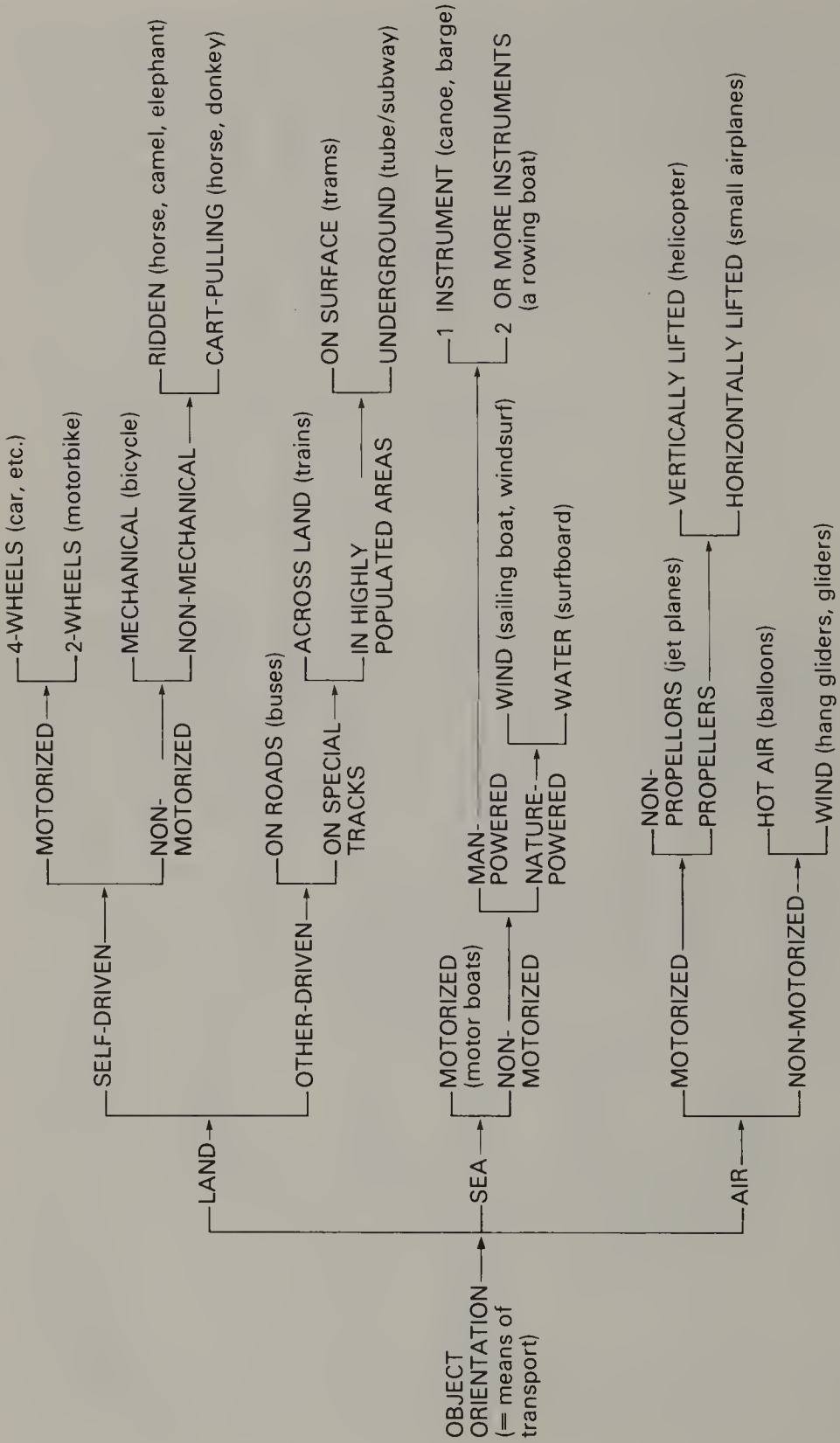


Figure 3.7 Object orientation in the FIELD 'travel'

is going on in service encounter texts when this particular FIELD is realized, i.e. what information/goods are requested and provided, the types of negotiations concerning service activities and objects. On the basis of the work by Plum (1984; see also Martin in press), it seems that activity orientation of FIELD 'travel' will have to be seen more in terms of the way participants participate in activities than is done in the networks in Figures 3.6 and 3.7. In other words, one must seek for the realized Medium ^Process, Participant ^Quality, etc., relationships in texts. The relationships presented in the networks can be checked in the texts, for example by paying attention to the types of taxonomic and non-taxonomic relationship in texts. When travel arrangements are made, it is very likely that the lexical relationships in texts show some kind of superordinate organization and further, as the social process unfolds, the text is likely to reflect some kind of series of expectancy sequence relationships as far as the various processes in the text are concerned. Up to now the focus has been on the FIELD choices, but of course genre relates also to the TENOR and MODE choices. For example, the decision as to who initiates the element is a decision where TENOR is negotiated. MODE plays a role in decisions about whether a verbalization of the element is necessary (handing over goods). Thus it can be said that the constraints of genre on register and, further, of register on language, are perceived and shown only through a 'cumulative effect'. It is quite clear that more work is needed in this area so that the realizational relationships between the communication planes of genre, register and language can be spelt out more explicitly.

How then can the fact that genre constrains register choices be displayed in the flowchart representation? The negotiations about constraining the register can be seen as part of the ovals which label the elements accordingly. That is, at the beginning of each element certain primary selections from the register networks of FIELD, MODE and TENOR will be specified. However, the elaborations to represent this in the network have not yet been made in this study.

3.8 UNIFORMITY AND DIVERSITY OF GENERIC STRUCTURES

The generic structure elements and the flowchart, as they have been presented above for the genre of service encounters, represent the uniformity that can be found in the texts in the Appendix to this study. In other words, they are shared across the service encounter types in the data. This does not mean, however, that the texts always look alike. The flowchart provides realizational diversity in the generic structures of the service encounter texts collected. That is, it will, by allowing elements to be left out, repeated, etc., account for the fact that one service encounter text may have the actualized generic structure of SB + S + CL + GB, whereas another may have the structure of S + R + P + GH + CL, and yet another only the structure GR + SB + GB. All the actualized structures are considered perfectly functional as textual realizations of a service encounter genre. But diversity may also occur in texts which cannot be explained with the elements and the

flowchart as they have so far been presented. This kind of diversity will be the next focus of attention.

As the scale of delicacy increases in the genre agnation network, evermore delicate elements are generated, for example *BOOKING*, *POSTING*. These elements are the ones which set sub-genres of service encounters apart. For the generation of these sub-generic elements a dynamic approach is again needed, as they do not, by any means, appear in every text, nor do they always appear at exactly the same place in the structures of service encounter texts. How then are such sub-generic elements handled in the flowchart?

Drawing a completely new flowchart for each sub-genre is unnecessary. The sub-generic elements can easily be generated within the framework of the presented flowchart by introducing the notion of sideprogramming. To represent these more delicate synoptic choices in the dynamics of genre, it will be necessary to add a decision diamond to the effect 'is a sub-generic element *X* applicable?' to the main flowchart in Figure 3.5 at appropriate places and if the answer is 'yes', the wavy square notation will give instructions to both participants to step out of the main social process flowchart and enter a sideprogramme. The sideprogrammes are envisaged to be of the same general shape as the flowchart proposed for the main social process of service encounters. The elaboration of such sideprogrammes will be the task of future work.

There is yet another type of phenomenon found in the service encounter data which also contributes to the diversity found in the generic structuring of these social processes and which cannot be explained in terms of scale of delicacy in the genre network, but which could, nevertheless, be handled by sideprogramming in the flowchart dynamics. What is referred to is the kind of 'generic sidesequencing' found in texts of all kinds. Below three kinds of sidesequencing are recognized: genre switching, genre embedding and genre mixing.

Examples 5 and 6 illustrate *GENRE SWITCHING*.

Example 5 (additional data—TA):

- C: what package holidays do you have . . . uh to Bali . . . two week *two
week
S: *two week [tone 2]
C: two week [tone 1]
{4 secs—*S* gets some brochures}
C: it's lovely and warm here
S: hm isn't it
C: actually it's not actually cold it's just that it—
S: the wind gets to you
C: yeah
C: yeah always the way
S: hm
S: all right
{2 secs—*S* starts leafing through the brochures}
C: what is the best time— what is the cheapest time to go to Bali, etc.

Example 6 (additional data—PO):

- S*: hello Mrs Black
 how're you
C: well thank you
 can I have uh better have five . . . twenty cent *stamps please
S: *twenties
 {4 secs—*S* gets the stamps}
S: that's one dollar
 {*S* hands the stamps to *C*}
 {*C* hands a dollar note to *S*}
S: *thanks very much
C: *thank you
 {2 secs—*C* is putting the stamps away}
S: been busy [tone 2]
C: yes
 uh I just took four days off last week, and, etc.

In these examples of genre switching it seems that an element from a completely different genre, a casual conversation, has been 'borrowed' for the social process of service encounter. The extracts above are very similar in their realizations to the CONTEXTUAL INDIRECT APPROACHES and personal DIRECT APPROACHES found in casual conversations in Ventola (1977, 1978, 1979). What causes such genre switching as demonstrated above has obviously something to do with the TENOR choices. It is natural that we carry numerous social roles as members of a society in our everyday lives. As Firth (1950/57: 184) put it, 'every social person is a bundle of personae'. Sometimes our social roles, other than those which typically operate in a situation, may contribute to the unfolding of the social process. For example, when I enter a post office where a friend of mine works as a post official, I will not treat my friend as if my relationship with him/her was just that of a customer to a server. It would almost seem that one in such situations needs to be involved in two social processes at the same time, that of buying stamps or whatever and that of chatting to a friend. One switches back and forth from one genre to another.

Sometimes sidesequencing involves 'borrowing' only one element from another genre, as exemplified above, but often it may involve 'borrowing' whole other genres within a text. This will be referred to as GENRE EMBEDDING. Examples from real life in anecdotal form can be found relatively easily. I still recall having been given a recipe by a local greengrocer when I bought zucchinis during my first visit to Australia. Not having seen zucchinis before, let alone eaten them, I naturally enquired 'how does one eat them?', which then inspired the greengrocer to explain how they are best cooked. In other words, he temporarily moved to another genre, a recipe. Here the explanation for genre embedding is perhaps in the fact that both service encounters as well as recipes may include 'zucchini' as a FIELD choice in the social process. Zucchinis, as objects of activity orientation, can be bought as well as cooked. Another genre that is frequently embedded in other social processes is a narrative. Below, in Example 7, an embedding of a report is given; *C* and *S*

are in a travel agency and have been talking about a remote part of Australia, to where *C* wants to travel. *S* has been describing the bush and the wildlife in it.

Example 7 (additional data—TA):

C: snakes

you're right

S: I've seen—they just said on the newsreel the other night they've discovered . . . a snake they didn't know they had which makes the taipan look like it's harmless

C: really [tone 2]

S: yeah

C: lovely

S: it's the most deadly snake . . . that has ever been . . . known it is—it its poison-

the deadliest snake we thought we had was a tiger snake . . .

and the venom of this particular snake is something of the order of six to ten times more concentrated . . . *that-

C: *where was that found again [tone 2]

S: in the part you're talking about actually, etc.

S seems to embed the news report into the service encounter. This is indicated by the use of the process types of 'discoveries', typical of news reports: *discover*, *know*, *is*, etc. The lexicon all of a sudden has a 'scientific' flavour: *venom*, *concentrated*.

The third type of 'sidesequencing' that can happen in encounters is **GENRE MIXING**. This cannot be exemplified by examples from the service encounter, as it did not occur in the data. What is meant by genre mixing is a phenomenon where the switching of social processes becomes permanent. A conversation starts as a realization of one process, but ends up as a realization of another. The original goals/purposes have been abandoned and have been replaced by new ones. In literary genres this type of genre mixing, if applied continuously, may lead to a generation of a new genre.

The three types of diversity features of genres discussed above are realized in texts by their own selections of **FIELD**, **MODE** and **TENOR**, which are further realized by linguistic realizations which 'stand out' in texts. The realizations which do not quite 'fit' the social process in question make the recognition of genre switching/mixing/embedding possible. Such 'odd' phenomena in texts are well worth studying in detail, but are beyond the present scope.

The generation of texts with genre switching, embedding or mixing can also be handled by sideprogramming in the dynamics of genre. But instead of stepping out from the main social process into a sub-generic programme, the interactants are directed to enter into a totally different genre, either to its whole process or to a specific element in it. After the sidetrack the interactants return to the main social process (except perhaps in genre mixing). Presently it is not possible to say more about the sideprogramming and its relation to the dynamics of genre. Such genre switchings, embeddings and mixings

must, however, be considered as a source of richness and diversity in our conversations. The discovery of the dynamism of interaction is in its initial stages. To capture its exact nature calls urgently for descriptions of various genres in terms of synoptic and dynamic systems.

3.9 AN OVERVIEW OF THE THEORY

The chapter has introduced a framework which treats genre, register and language as semiotic communication planes. The view of genre which has been put forward in this chapter is that genre must be seen as a semiotic system which makes its own meanings in terms of generic structures in texts. Genres are presented as recognizable, organized social activities/processes which make up our culture. The elements of generic structures, which realize social processes, are generated by genre system networks, the features of which characterize generic similarities in texts of the same genre and mark generic class memberships of texts. How the texts unfold as generic structures may differ, however, from one instance to another and such diversity in the sequencing of elements is captured by the flowchart representation. Each generic structure element makes its own selections from the choices of FIELD, MODE and TENOR networks and thus generates structures on the register plane. The register structures are in turn realized by the pre-selected choices from the linguistic system networks, which generate structures on the linguistic strata of discourse, lexicogrammar and phonology. The theoretical hypothesis is that genre is an overriding factor in our cultures. It is a 'manipulating force' which operates through the realizational cycle and leaves 'traces' of generic choices in the texts. Many of the suggestions concerning the exact relationships between genre, register and language have so far been hypothetical. This largely reflects the fact that the theoretical framework of connotative semiotics does not have a long history. It could be said, analogously to the subject matter of this chapter, that it is a theory which is still unfolding dynamically. However, finding evidence for the presented hypotheses is plausible.

Part II of this book should appropriately be interpreted as a 'testing ground' for hypotheses concerning the semiotics of genre. The connotative semiotic framework of genre-register-language in this study has been adopted as a theoretical basis from which one can start to account for the facts found in the collected data, and from which one can proceed towards a typology of service encounter genre. In the following chapters first attempts to find evidence for the generic structure elements of service encounter genre and for the dynamic unfolding of service encounter texts will be made. A search for the linguistic evidence which points to the similarities and differences in generic structure organizations of the collected service encounter texts will take place on the discourse stratum of language, i.e. in the ways the choices from the discourse systems of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, LEXICAL COHESION, REFERENCE and CONJUNCTION are organized as structures in a generically similar way in texts (a synthesis of how successful the study is in the attempt will be presented in the last chapter).

NOTES

1. Whenever service encounter data which are not given in the Appendix are used, they will be marked as additional and the location where they were recorded will be indicated by PO, SH and TA—standing for post office, shop and travel agency texts respectively.
2. A solution suggested by Margaret Berry, personal communication.
3. In Ventola (1977, 1978, 1979) Mode, in a Hallidayan way (1978: 144–5), includes a purpose function.
4. CENTERING in Ventola (1979: 273) is seen to be realized by ‘cognitive and informative topics’, which, in response to the criticism presented in Malcolm (1984) and in Harris (forthcoming), admittedly is not a sufficient definition. The presentation in Ventola (1979) lacks the linguistic analyses on the lexicogrammatical and discourse strata, which would provide the linguistic justification for distinguishing the elements. Now that the functioning of discourse structures as well as lexicogrammatical structures as realizations of generic elements in different genres is becoming clearer, it is envisaged that the linguistic evidence for the elements can be found, for example, by the kind of analyses that will be presented in Part II of this book or the kind of phasal analyses that Malcolm (1984, 1985c) suggests.
5. The research group members are: James Martin, Suzanne Eggins, Chris Nesbitt, Guenter Plum, Cate Poynton, Lynn Poulton, John Rothery, Anne Thwaite and Eija Ventola.
6. See Figure 3 in Ventola (1977: 29) and its discussion of how the behavioural (linguistic and non-linguistic) patterns are formed in a society and how they are sustained in generalized situation types, the process ultimately leading to the establishment of cultural conventions in society (Ventola 1977: 13–30).
7. From the report ‘China’s rats go down a treat’, filed by Jasper Becker from Peking for *The Guardian* (early January 1986; unfortunately I failed to make a note of the date). The report was concerned with China’s problem with the increasing number of rats. *The Chinese Economic Daily* advocated eating them as a way of getting rid of them and called for the promotion of rat restaurants.
8. *The Age* in Melbourne, Australia, a few years ago reported an incident where some white Australians were complaining that their dogs were disappearing in the neighbourhood inhabited also by some Asian immigrants.

Part II

4 Conversational structure: speech function and exchange in the service encounter texts

So far, the viewpoint on the generic structure has been top–down. Now it can be reversed, bottom–up, and focused on ‘microstructures’ on the discourse stratum of language and on what they can tell us about ‘macrostructures’. One aspect of microstructure in an interactional text is that it is realized by speech acts. In this chapter some general views on speech acts and their functions will be discussed first. This leads to the interpretation of speech acts as a part of the discourse systems of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE. The options from this system network manifest in texts as exchanges and moves. The hypothesis is that the structures generated by the system network will at least partly reflect the generic organization.

4.1 SPEECH FUNCTION: SYSTEM AND STRUCTURE

The theory of speech acts involves a theory of speech function. That is, by uttering words, an action is performed which carries a particular function. Speech acts were first studied in decontextualized utterances (e.g. Austin 1962/75; Searle 1969), but now in pragmatics situational settings are also seen to play an important role in assigning functions to speech acts. The classification of speech functions is still considered problematic (see Matthews 1979: 83; Berry 1981a: 120; Martin 1981a: 72). The controversy in the speech act theory can be summarized under two headings: firstly, how many speech functions need to be recognized and, secondly, how speech functions can be related to grammatical realization.

4.1.1 How many speech functions to recognize?

How can one approach the problem of setting up a speech functions classification which is replicable from situation to situation? A proposal for an answer is presented by Halliday (1984, 1985a), who suggests that a classification of speech acts into their functional classes can be based on how people structure their interaction linguistically. The basic motivation behind human interaction is that interactants are either giving or demanding either goods & services or information. The cross-classification of these features leads to basic speech functions: [giving: goods & services] to an offer (*Shall I wrap them for you?*); [giving: information] to a statement (*Air mail is more expensive*);

[demanding: goods & services] to a command (*Bring it over to me when you've addressed it*); and finally [demanding: information] to a question (*How much are they?*) (Halliday 1985a: 69; my examples).

Social interaction inherently involves the notion of an exchange or an adjacency pair (see e.g. Schlegloff & Sacks 1973/74: 238–41; Sacks *et al.* 1974: 716–20; Benson & Hughes 1983: 173–81). Built-in in the notion of exchange/adjacency pair are the notions of initiation and response. Consequently, giving/demanding as an initiation necessarily implies receiving/giving on demand as a response (Halliday 1985a: 68). Halliday (1985a: 69) recognizes two kinds of responses: expected/discretionary. Thus the basic speech functions are:

offer ^ acceptance/rejection
statement ^ acknowledgement/contradiction
command ^ undertaking/refusal
question ^ answer/disclaimer

Some useful recognition criteria for distinguishing the initiating offers, commands, statements and questions from one another has been suggested by Martin (1981a: 64): *please*, *okay* and *thanks* can be used as 'tests' for speech functions. *Okay* can be a response for commands and offers, but not for questions and statements: *Just fill in this form—Okay* and *I'll post it for you—Okay*. It is true that *okay* in answer to questions seems unacceptable, for example *How much are these?*—**Okay*. Such a response would sound odd to a customer. But, at least in the service encounter texts *okay* may frequently appear as a responding pair to a statement, for example *Air mail is more expensive—Okay*. This has to do with the fact that in service encounters giving information is treated as a 'linguistic service' (see 4.3.4 below). *Please* and *thanks* keep commands and offers apart. *Please* can be added to commands, for example *Get me a drink please!*, whereas **Shall I get you a drink please* is not possible. The expected pair parts to commands do not accept *thanks*, for example *Get me a drink, please!*—**Okay, thanks*, whereas the expected pair parts to offers do, for example *Shall I get you a drink—Yes thanks*.

The status of the discretionary functions is somewhat problematic. As seen above, four discretionary functions are recognized by Halliday. But, if one follows the argumentation in Burton (1980: 150–2), the discretionary functions all carry a challenging function (vs. supporting function). Burton's justification for recognizing challenges is the different outcome they have in exchanges. Rejections, contradictions, refusals and disclaimers prevent exchanges from being performed in the way they would otherwise predictably be carried out. The questions which arise at this stage are whether the basic speech functions include four discretionary functions or only one challenge function, and whether the distinction expected/discretionary or support/challenge applies to all speech functions to be recognized. It can be argued that, in addition to the four basic pairs presented above, some further speech functions are needed to represent basic human interaction. These are greeting response greeting (*Hello—Hi*), call ^ response to call (*John?—What*) and exclamation (*What a job!*) (see Martin 1981a; these additional speech

functions were originally recognized in Halliday's unpublished manuscript 'The Meaning of Modern English'). To these additional speech functions neither the discretionary nor the challenging distinction seem to apply (exclamations do not even have a response pair part).

To avoid the kinds of problems shown above, an alternative solution is followed. Speech functions are only recognized to the expected/supporting functions which lead to the typical, unmarked, synoptic completion of an exchange. This is to say that only the expected/supporting distinction is built into the system which generates exchanges. The discretionary/challenging functions only step in when 'trouble' in the unfolding of an exchange occurs, for example the proposition is not acceptable to the hearer, has not been heard, etc. Structurally these functions are not predictable, but are used when the predictable structure 'goes off the track'. Such dynamic functions are thus called for to further guide the unfolding of the exchange (discussed in detail later in the chapter). The benefit of this solution is that the system of speech functions is a basic system catering for the 'typical'. Rejections, contradictions, refusals and disclaimers can then more generally be described to carry a dynamic function of a challenge (which in turn can be responded to). Further, both the basic speech functions and the dynamic functions can on the lexicogrammatical stratum be realized by an affirmative/negative choice in the system of POLARITY in the MOOD network (see Martin 1981a and Figure 4.2 below).

Thus, the basic speech functions, recognized in the analyses of service encounters, are presented in Table 4.1 (the unmarked MOOD realizations for the speech functions are given in parentheses).

The speech functions listed above are generated by the SPEECH FUNCTION network in Figure 4.1.

A distinction between responses and challenges to initiations has been made above. Challenges are not considered the same as responses, because the outcome of the exchange is different (following Burton 1980). But the question of what counts as a response has to be addressed as well. In Halliday and Hasan (1976: 206) it has been suggested that a second pair 'is any utterance which immediately follows an utterance by a different speaker and is cohesively related to it'. Martin (1981a: 60), however, shows that such a criterion is too indefinite, since it allows such sequences as *Who's that playing tennis?—Tennis balls are yellow* to be, on a cohesive basis, a response in an exchange. Explicit formal criteria for establishing initiation-response pairs are needed. Martin's (1981a: 60) suggestion is that the second pair part has to comply with the potential ellipsis criterion, i.e. the response must be retrievable from the initiation. In other words, a response is either a full or an elliptical clause, derived from the initiation. Martin's suggestion will serve as a well-grounded working hypothesis for also recognizing responses in service encounter interactions.

So far, various speech functions, their responses and their generation by options from a network have been discussed. Nothing so far has been said about the unit on to which speech functions are mapped. Halliday (1984: 14) maps speech function on to a unit called 'move', which largely remains

Table 4.1 The basic speech functions and their congruent mood realizations

INITIATING	RESPONDING
statement (s) (declarative)	acknowledge statement (as) (elliptical declarative, minor)
question (q) (interrogative	response statement to question (rsq) (elliptical declarative)
offer (o) (polar interrogative + others)	acknowledge offer (ao) (elliptical imperative + others)
command (c) (imperative)	response offer to command (roc) (elliptical declarative)
greeting (gr) (minor)	response to greeting (rgr) (minor)
call (cl) (minor)	response to call (rcl) (minor)
exclamation (ex) (minor)	—

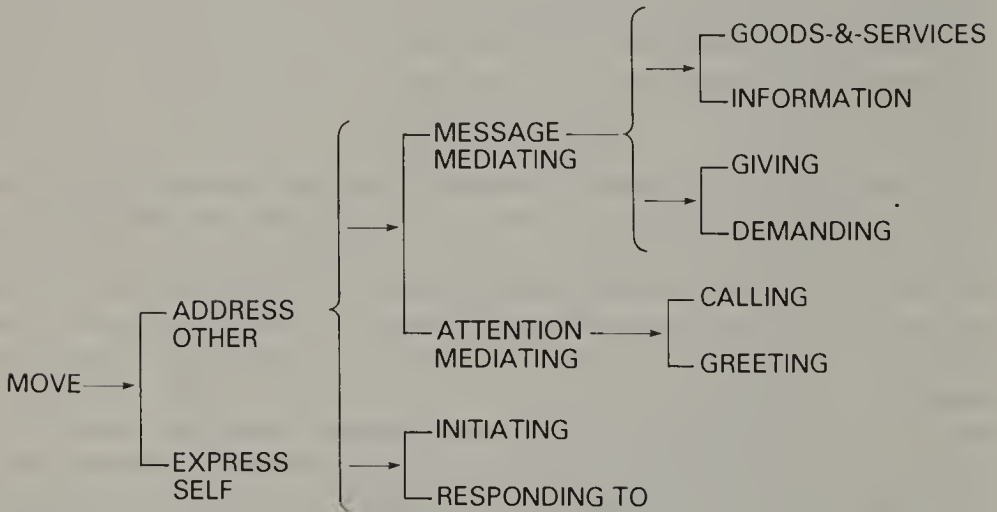


Figure 4.1 SPEECH FUNCTION network on the discourse stratum (Martin forthcoming:33)

undefined, however. This, when applied to text analysis, will cause problems, as one does not know whether the speaker's whole speaking turn or only a part of it (e.g. a clause) will be seen as a move where a speech function is realized. Consider Example 1, a dialogue between Nigel (age 1:10) and his mother:

Example 1 (Halliday 1984: 17):

Nigel: Blue pin got lòst. White pin got lost?

Mother: No the white pin didn't get lost.

In this piece of dialogue 'Nigel demands information and his mother responds by giving it. This exchange is encoded semantically as: Nigel asks a question and his mother makes a statement which is an answer to it' (Halliday 1984: 17). Halliday seems to equate the move realizing the function question with the whole of Nigel's turn. However, judging by the falling intonation (ˋ), *Blue pin got lòst* appears to carry a statement function. The problem then is whether one equates the whole of Nigel's turn with a move carrying the question function or recognizes two juxtaposed moves which both, in this case, carry initiating functions, a statement and a question, the fact which goes against the initiation ^ response generation of speech functions in exchanges.

(Martin (1981a) offers a solution to this problem by suggesting a formal definition of the unit on to which speech functions can be mapped. He suggests a message or move (in Martin 1981a, 1985) as a unit on to which SPEECH FUNCTION is mapped on the discourse stratum. Messages/moves are units selecting independently for mood, i.e. 'a clause realizing a bundle of features generated by the [MOOD] network in a single derivation' (Martin 1981a: 57; see Figure 4.2 below). Thus, because the mood network must be entered twice in generating Nigel's turn, two moves are recognized. The function of a statement is mapped on to the first move and that of a question on to the second. But this still does not solve the problem of two initiating moves being sequenced one after the other. Are the moves in Nigel's turn moves of the same exchange or a different exchange? Does the exchange generating systems allow the juxtaposition of two initiating moves in the same exchange? Where is the exchange boundary? This problem will be discussed later in this chapter (Section 4.2).

It has been postulated above that thirteen speech functions are sufficient to a certain point in delicacy to describe the basics of human interaction (see Table 4.1). Before actually seeing how speech functions are realized in service encounters and whether the realization patterns in any way reflect the generic structures of the texts, an attempt to enlighten another polemic area in speech act theory, namely the problem of how speech function is related to form, will be made.

4.1.2 How is speech function related to its form?

The difficulty of assigning speech acts into functional categories has largely to do with the 'mismatch' between form and function. The form *pass me the salt* may be acceptable among family members, but other situations may demand a polite form—*could you perhaps pass me the salt, please*. The function is the same, the form varies. How then to solve this mismatch between form and function? One solution would obviously be to ignore form when setting up speech

function classifications, as is often the case in pragmatically orientated studies where 'only passing attention to the syntax of English' is paid (Edmondson 1981: 2; see also Dore 1977: 141). This will enable the analyst to set up as many speech function classes as necessary for describing the data, different kinds of data always inspiring new classes. For example, Bowker (1983), when analysing travel agency talk by using Edmondson's (1981) categories based on role-play situations, has added 'confirm', 'repeat', 'loop' and 'check' to the original categories.

Within the framework of connotative semiotics, the treatment of speech functions independently of the form, i.e. their realization on the lexicogrammatical stratum, seems unacceptable. When the function of a speech act is considered its formal aspects must NECESSARILY also be accounted for. But how?

In the systemic-functional approach a systematic relationship between the SPEECH FUNCTION classes and the grammatical structures that realize them, i.e. the MOOD choices, is proposed. This systematic relationship is the relationship of unmarkedness or congruence (see Halliday 1984: 14; Martin 1981a: 52). Congruence should ultimately be verifiable probabilistically. Although such quantitative studies have not yet been carried out, it can be expected that they will show that a certain SPEECH FUNCTION class is proportionately realized more often by a certain MOOD class rather than by another (Martin forthcoming: 34).¹ The congruent realizations for the proposed speech functions have been given in Table 4.1. These realizations are generated by the MOOD network presented in Figure 4.2. The MOOD network realizes on the lexicogrammatical stratum the SPEECH FUNCTION choices on the discourse stratum.

But if there are systematic realizations for SPEECH FUNCTION in grammar, with form being congruent with function, why then are there so many incongruent instances where 'commands look like questions', 'questions are in fact offers', and so on? Incongruence allows variance in realization. Interactants play with the system by using incongruent realizations consciously. For example, the realization *Could you shut the door please* instead of *Shut the door* may indicate 'tuning into' the prevailing TENOR relations. Certainly, as will shortly be seen, incongruent realizations are common in a genre such as service encounters; customers seem to favour incongruent commands for getting the servers to get the goods they want, for example *could I have two twenties please* instead of *give me two twenties*. Later in this chapter the relationship between congruent/incongruent realizations of speech functions and generic elements will be deliberated further.

To summarize, stratification of the discourse stratum and lexicogrammar in terms of SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD networks and their realizations is needed to make sense of the mismatch between form and function. When a mismatch between form and function takes place, the explanation of the mismatch is most likely to be found on the underlying planes of genre and register and the choices made on those planes. In other words, there must be a good reason for a mismatch, and the reason is likely to be semiotic. The hypothesis presented in the connotative semiotics framework is that the organization of our cultural and contextual systems of genre and register

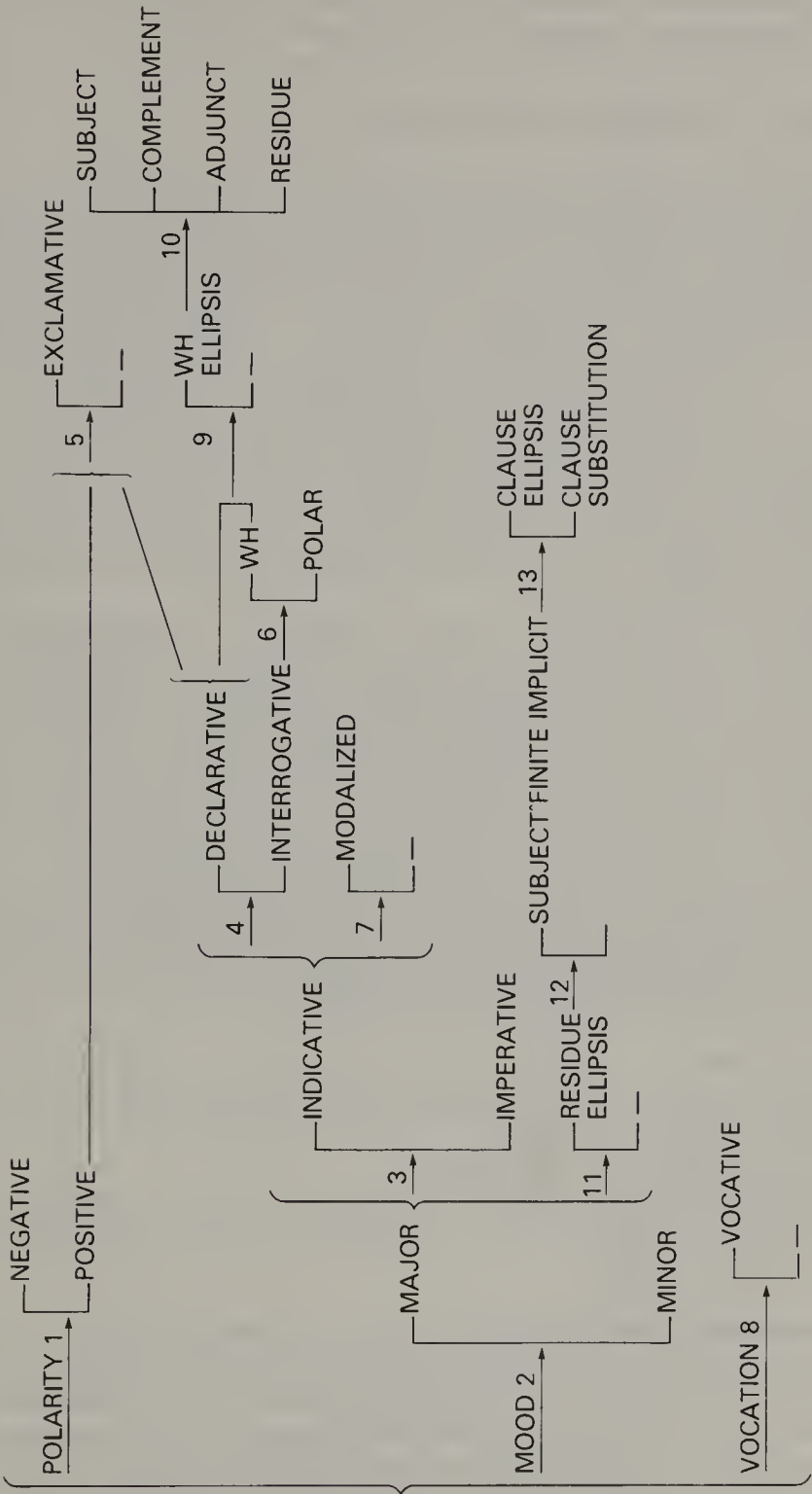


Figure 4.2 MOOD Network on the Lexicogrammatial Stratum (Martin 1981a: 53, Fig. 1)

systems is relayed by the way we speak and in this study the first step to find some evidence for such an organization is to look at the mismatch patterns of speech functions and their forms in service encounter data.

4.2 EXCHANGE: SYSTEM AND STRUCTURE

Feature selection of [initiating] and [responding to] from the SPEECH FUNCTION network (Figure 4.1) will generate two slots which are organized *vis-à-vis* a structure: initiation ^ response. The other feature selections then determine which functions fill these slots. Thus the feature selections organize speech acts in functional pairs, for example question ^ response statement to question (q ^ rsq). Such a pair in ethnomethodology is labelled an adjacency pair (Sacks *et al.* 1974). It could now be hypothesized that such adjacency pair structures would reveal something about generic structures in texts of the same genre. It seems logical to expect that there are similarities in the ways adjacency pairs are realized in a generic element in the various texts of the same genre. Furthermore, one could assume that such patterns differ from the patterns in other generic elements of the same texts. But are conversations manifested in adjacency pairs?

At first, an adjacency pair seems a logical, basic form of social interaction. In conversations we all make initiations and get responses. But, the initiation ^ response structure can only be taken as a basic organization of dialogue, if the speaker's turn as a whole carries the SPEECH FUNCTION, i.e. speaker A's speaking turn, of whatever length, will function as a question and speaker B's speaking turn, of whatever length, will function as a response to that question. This is the problem raised earlier by Example 1. If Martin's definition of a mapping unit for SPEECH FUNCTION as a unit selecting independently for MOOD is accepted, Nigel's turn includes two units, organized as statement ^ question respectively. As both the speech functions are [initiating], this structure cannot be interpreted as an adjacency pair. Example 2 from Text 10 (see the Appendix) will demonstrate the issue even more forcefully.

Example 2 (Text 10):

- S: we will book you all together and then we'll write you as an adult and a child as a half fare
 C: right it's half of the excursion fare
 S: half of the excursion/so you're looking at this one how many children have you got
 C: well two and . . . a baby

If S's second speaking turn is considered to be the one on to which only one SPEECH FUNCTION is assigned problems will occur. S's *half of the excursion* could be interpreted as a responding 'acknowledge statement' to C's statement *it's half of the excursion fare* (although later it will be argued that it is rather a dynamic confirming move). But S's *so you're looking at this one* does not have a responding function. Rather, it seems to have [giving: information] function. Lastly, S's *how many children have you got* appears to realize the feature

selections [initiating: demanding: information], to which *C* indeed provides a response by giving the information. *S*'s turn then involves three units which select independently for MOOD: $as \hat{s} \hat{q}$. The latter moves are [initiating] and cannot function as a response to *C*'s preceding turn. The relationship of $as \hat{s}$ raises the question of where boundaries between exchanges are perceived to be. The boundary between one exchange and another is obviously between [responding] and [initiating] functions, i.e. here between as and s . This does not apply to the sequence $s \hat{q}$ which consequently raises the question whether discourse can adequately be described in terms of adjacency pairs. q is obviously not a pair part of s , but must independently be interpreted as an initiation, without a response (similar problems concerning the non-adjacency features in adjacency pairs have been discussed in Jefferson 1972; Sinclair & Coulthard 1975; Coulthard 1977; Berry 1981a; Martin 1981a, 1985).

Even though the adjacency pair concept as a basic organization of SPEECH FUNCTION must be abandoned, the basic idea of exchange of goods & services or information need not be rejected. Such an exchange can only involve one move. For example, if I bring someone a cup of coffee, saying *I made you a cup of coffee*, s /he need not respond by thanking me (although socially it is usually expected). Nevertheless, the goods have been exchanged or the service has been performed. An exchange with only one structural slot has taken place. Similarly, when one makes a statement, the addressee need not necessarily acknowledge this statement (although, again, it is often socially expected). A one-slot exchange has again been realized. If it is accepted that exchanges can consist of one or more exchanges, the problem of speech functions not always pairing is solved. But how then does one know which speech function follows which? This question can be approached by setting up an exchange system which enables the prediction of structures in an exchange.

In the present context an exchange is proposed as a basic unit of social interaction. Exchanges consist of one or more functional structural slots, the sequence of which is determined by the feature selections from the EXCHANGE system network at the exchange rank (Figure 4.3 below). Thus, once the initiating speech act has been generated, it will be possible to predict what kind of functional slot, if any, is likely to follow. The functional slots are realized by moves at a lower move rank. Moves are generated by the SPEECH FUNCTION network (Figure 4.1 above) and are assigned to various speech function classes accordingly. The organization of conversation is thus seen in terms of an EXCHANGE and a SPEECH FUNCTION network, commonly here onwards labelled the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE. The exchange network has been elaborated by Berry (1981a, b, c) and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE synthesizes Berry's work on exchanges and Martin's work on speech functions (Martin 1981a, 1985, forthcoming). First, the syntagmatic structures will be presented and then an EXCHANGE network, capturing the paradigmatic choices, will summarize the discussion.

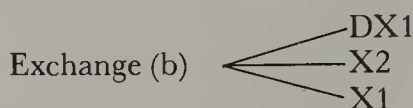
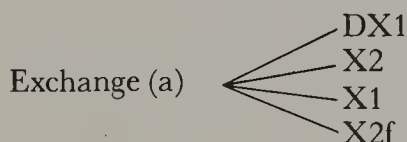
Berry (1981b, c) presents the following structural functional slot formula, which constrains sequencing of moves in exchanges:

$$((DX1) X2) X1 (X2f)$$

To interpret this formula one needs to know that parentheses indicate optionality. Thus, in an exchange at least one slot, X1, has to be realized. That X1 is obligatory is Realization Statement 1 of exchanges. Realization statement 2 is that other functions are sequentially ordered so that DX1 may only precede X2, which may in turn occur before X1 which may only be followed by X2f. This statement, then, gives the following inventory of possible linear sequences:

- (a) DX1 + X2 + X1 + X2f
- (b) DX1 + X2 + X1
- (c) X2 + X1 + X2f
- (d) X2 + X1
- (e) X1 + X2f
- (f) X1

The same sequences can be presented as an exchange structure where the moves are joined together by lines to form an exchange. For example, the exchanges (a) and (b) are presented as:



Realization Statement 3 states that the functional slots also determine each other's obligatoriness: X1 is obligatory, X2 presupposes the function X1 in an exchange, DX1 predicts both X2 and X1 and, finally, X2f again presupposes X1. The Realization Statement 4 dictates that each function can occur only once in an exchange (for details, see Berry 1981a: 128–9; later, certain reformulations will be suggested to account for the service encounter data). What then are the functions of the slots?

The exchanges which are concerned with messages are either knowledge-orientated or action-orientated. The X in the slots above can now be replaced by either K (knowledge) or A (action) (X1 = K1/A1). 1 in K1 stands for a knowledge-orientated slot of a Primary Knower, the person 'who already knows the information' (Berry 1981a: 126) and imparts it for the benefit of the other interactants (e.g. *Longman and Batsford are publishing companies*). A1 stands for an action-orientated slot of a Primary Actor, the person who 'is actually going to carry out the action' (Berry 1981c: 23) e.g. *here's a coffee for you*).

In both these exchanges above the Primary Knower/Actor does something for the benefit of the other interactant present. The other interactant is a Secondary Knower/Secondary Actor. Having benefited from a move in a Primary Knower/Actor slot, the Secondary Knower/Actor may now feel that he ought to (but does not need to) acknowledge the preceding move. Such an acknowledgement will be carried out in either a K2f-slot, a Secondary Knower Follow-Up in knowledge exchanges (*Longman and Batsford are*

publishing companies (K1)—*oh I see* (K2f)) or a A2f-slot, a Secondary Actor Follow-Up in action exchanges (*here's a coffee for you* (A1)—*oh thanks very much* (A2f) (X2f = K2f/A2f).

Naturally the Primary Knower/Actor is not continuously the initiator of knowledge/action exchanges. The Secondary Knower/Actor can just as easily demand information or goods & services by initiating an exchange with a slot carrying a K2/A2-function (X2 = K2/A2). In a K2 the Secondary Knower asks the Primary Knower to impart information for his benefit (Berry 1981a: 124) (e.g. *what does incrustation mean?* (K2)—*it's a way of putting jewels and precious metals together* (K1)), whereas in an A2 a request to the Primary Actor to do something for the benefit of the Secondary Actor is made (Berry 1981c: 23) (e.g. *could you get me a cup of coffee?* (A2)—*yeah, sure* (A1)). As the formula above shows, K2/A2 may itself be optional, but, once realized, it must be followed by K1/A1.

Finally, DX1 stands either for DK1, a Delayed Primary Knower-slot, or DA1, a Delayed Primary Actor-slot (DX1 = DK1/DA1). In DK1 the Primary Knower delays 'his admission that he knows the information in order to find out whether the Secondary Knower also knows the information' (Berry 1981a: 127) (e.g. *what made Chomsky famous?* (DK1)—*the Vietnam War?* (K2)—*His work on transformational grammar* (K1)). In DA1 'the Primary Actor delays the action to ensure the acceptability of the action to Secondary Actor' (Berry 1981c: 24) (e.g. *would you like a biscuit* (DA1)—*oh, yes please* (A2)—*here you are* (A1)). In an exchange a DK1/DA1-function must be followed by K2/A2, which in turn must be followed by K1/A1, which can optionally be followed by K2f/A2f.

Which of these above-stated sequences is chosen depends largely on whether the speaker of the first move in an exchange is orientated to A-events ('the things that A knows about but B does not' (Labov 1970/72: 301)) or B-events ('the things which B knows about but A does not' (Labov 1970/72: 301; see also Labov & Fanshell 1977; Berry 1981a: 130, c: 26). In A-events the first speaker has to be a Primary Knower/Actor. Thus the exchanges classified as A-events will start either by having a K1/A1-function or a DK1/DA1-function. Examples 3 and 4 are A-events.

Example 3 (Text 3):


 K1 S: it [a small package] should fit into the 35 [a jiffy bag] I think
 K2f C: oh right

Example 4 (Text 5):

—A1 S: there we are dear [handing over the packet]

If the first slot is a DK1/DA2 in an A-event, the knowledge/action in the exchange is 'negotiated' (= delayed), whereas the non-negotiated A-events start with a K1/A1-function. B-events, however, start with K2/A2-slots. In B-events A cannot be the first speaker because A is not the Primary Knower/Actor (Berry 1981a: 130). Examples 5 and 6 are B-events.

Example 5 (Text 9):

- K2 C: can you er—with the er advanced purchase you can mix seasons can't you
 - K1 S: oh yes

Example 6 (Text 3):

- A2 C: uh can I have a jiffy bag for that please
 - A1 S: uhuh [3 secs—*S* gets the bag]

Berry (1981a: 134, c: 29) presents a network which generates the exchange structures presented so far. However, modifications to Berry's presentation are needed to account for some additional phenomena in service encounters. One modification has been presented by Martin (forthcoming: 37). In Example 7 (constructed) a new slot, A1f, a Primary Actor Follow-Up, is recognized.

Example 7 (Martin forthcoming: 37):

- DA1 A: shall I wrap it for you
 - A2 B: yes do
 - A1 A: okay
 - A2f B: thanks
 - A1f A: no worries

A1f acknowledges the Secondary Actor's appreciation of the Primary Actor's action, done for the Secondary Actor's benefit. A1f is always an optional element and is sequenced after A2f.

It will now be suggested that a similar adjustment has to be made to knowledge exchanges. Examples 8 and 9 seem to justify a recognition of K1f, a Primary Knower Follow-Up.

Example 8 (Ventola 1979: 288):

- K1 A: oh, so that sounds good [getting three afternoons off from work for study]
 - K2f B: yeah
 - K1f A: yeah
 - K1 B: a bit rushed . . . sort of, etc.

Example 9 (Text 9):

- C: could you give us . . . the *respective charges please
 - S: *the fares
 - C: yes
 - [17 secs—*S* goes to get some brochures]
 - K1 C: that'd be return
 - K2f S: yeah
 - K1f C: yeah
 - [4 secs—*S* is looking for the information in the brochures]
 - S: right the . . . the train would be, etc.

In these examples, K1f following K2f is a kind of 'feedback on feedback' phenomenon (Ventola 1980: 133), which in casual conversations is often used to enforce a speaker change (consciously or subconsciously). Neither K1f in Example 8 nor in 9 can be interpreted as initiating a new exchange (in Example 9 the distinction is even sharper than in Example 8, owing to the silence that follows).

A further modification needed concerns action exchanges. Berry (1981c: 25) makes a distinction between A1:Assent (A1:A) and A1:React (A1:R), which is non-verbally realized action. When immediate action takes place, A1:A is optional and A1:R is obligatory. But when action is postponed, because it cannot be performed immediately, then A1:A must be considered sufficient to complete an action-exchange, since A1:R does not take place within the boundaries of interaction; hence, in postponed action exchanges, A1:A is the obligatory function. Example 10 will roughly illustrate what is meant.

Example 10 (Text 1):

	S:	they'll be right [letters]
A1:A		I'll fix those in a moment
A2f	C:	okay
		[C leaves]
	:	
A1:R	S:	[non-verbal action; after C has gone, S drops the letter into a mail bag]

So far only the message-orientating exchanges (knowledge/action) have been discussed. But in service encounters also attention-orientating and greeting exchanges are generated. There are two kinds of attention-orientating exchanges. The opening attention-orientating exchange fixes the attention needed for the service interaction and involves an Attention (Att) slot and it can be responded to in a Response to Attention (RAtt), e.g. *anybody waiting down there—yes, I am*. The closing attention-orientating exchange signals that no attention leading to further services will be needed, i.e. the encounter can be drawn to a close. This exchange involves a Finishing Attention (FAtt) and Response to Finishing Attention (RFAtt), e.g. *thanks—thank you*. The greeting exchanges are also of two kinds: opening, i.e. a Greeting (Gr) and a Response to a Greeting (RGr), e.g. *good morning—morning* and closing, i.e. a Goodbye (Gb) and a Response to a Goodbye (RGb), e.g. *goodbye—bye bye*.

The amendments above can now be incorporated into the EXCHANGE system network, presented in Figure 4.3.

System 1 is a choice between initiating and not initiating an exchange. System 2 differentiates speaker-orientated exchanges from those orientated to other participants. System 3 differentiates between exchanges used to establish the other participants' attention or to greet from exchanges used to transmit messages. System 4 differentiates those attention-mediating exchanges which are used for opening attention channels from those which are used to close such channels. System 5 differentiates opening greetings

from closing greetings. In message-orientated exchanges System 6 allows the exchange initiator to orientate himself to A-events or B-events. System 7 makes a distinction between negotiating exchanges (thus delaying the knowledge/action) and non-negotiating exchanges. System 8 distinguishes knowledge exchanges from action exchanges. System 9 is only concerned with action exchanges and makes a distinction between the action which will immediately be carried out by a Primary Actor and the action which will be postponed to be carried out later. In those exchanges where the action follows immediately, the Primary Actor may, or may not, present an assent, i.e. a verbal commitment to carry out the action. When action is postponed (indicated by the three dots . . .), such an assent is obligatory and is seen to be realizing a well-formed exchange, although the actual action will be carried out later. System 10 allows the Secondary Knower/Actor to make an optional follow-up move. System 11 allows the Primary Knower/Actor to respond to the Secondary Knower's/Actor's follow-up.

The system network also captures inherent probabilities (the general discussion of inherent probabilities of systems has been initiated by Halliday and then developed by Plum (1981) and Martin (1983d). Systems may, firstly, be equiprobable (=), i.e. a selection of one feature is as likely as a selection of another. Secondly, systems may be skewed (=), i.e. one of the features will more likely be selected. The arrow points to the inherently preferred option. The weighting of probabilities in Figure 4.3 presents 'genre and register neutral' probabilities. However, the generic and register qualities of texts may cause some reweighting of probabilities, for example in quiz shows it would seem that System 7 is reweighted so that [negotiate] is the favoured choice, i.e. the $DK \wedge K2 \wedge K1$ -exchange would be more prominent in quiz shows than just a K1-exchange.

SPEECH FUNCTION and EXCHANGE systems together generate the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in texts. A move functions as an entry condition to SPEECH FUNCTION and an exchange to EXCHANGE. EXCHANGE system provides the functional slots on the exchange-rank and SPEECH FUNCTION system fills the slots on the move-rank below. The movement from exchange to move rank on the discourse stratum and from discourse stratum into the lexicogrammar can best be explained by an illustrative analysis, given in Figure 4.4

The exchange *C: with er advanced purchase you can mix seasons can't you—* *S: oh yes* (Text 10) is a knowledge exchange, consisting of two functional slots at the rank of exchange. These functions are realized by two moves, a question and a response statement to question respectively. The q-move is incongruently realized in lexicogrammar, the sequence of Subject $\wedge$ Finite realizing a declarative MOOD choice. The rsq-move is realized congruently in grammar by an elliptical declarative clause (see Table 4.1; the 'etc.' in Figure 4.4 stands for the grammatical analyses below the clause-rank).

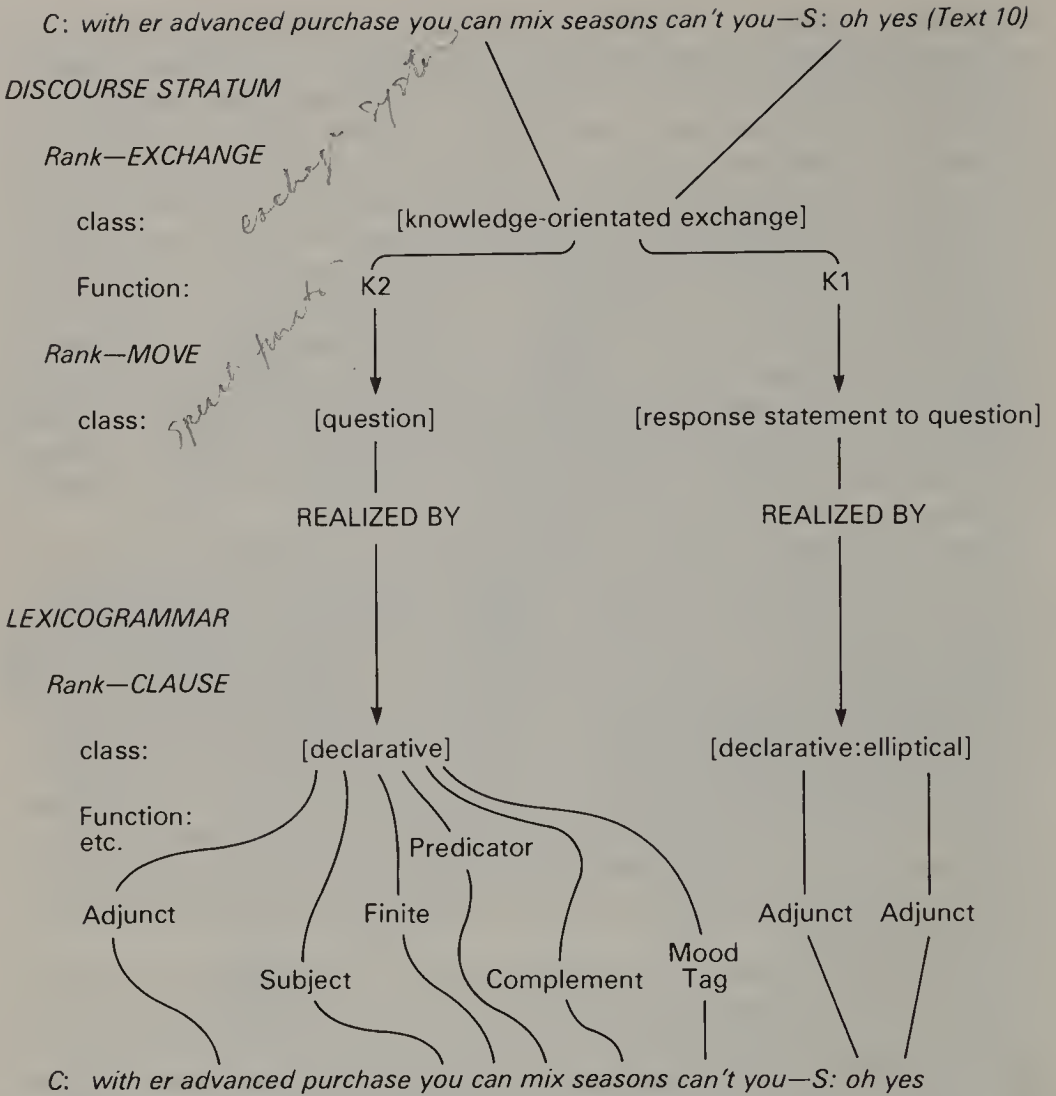


Figure 4.4 A stratified analysis of a knowledge-orientated exchange: K2 + K1.

4.3 PROBLEMATIC ISSUES IN CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

The next step after the exploration of the systems and structures of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE is the analyses of service encounter texts. However, some further problematic issues concerning conversational structure must be discussed first.

4.3.1 Dynamic moves in exchanges

Soon after the discussion on adjacency pairs and exchanges had first started in linguistics, researchers began to pay attention to such matters as 'side

sequences', 'insertions', 'challenges', 'queries', 'repairs', and so on (see, for example, Jefferson 1972; Goffman 1976; Burton 1980; Berry 1981a; Hasan in Halliday & Hasan 1980; Martin 1985). The discussion below continues the previous work in this area by looking at similar troublesome phenomena in service encounter texts. However, the work will here be brought into the general framework of connotative semiotics.

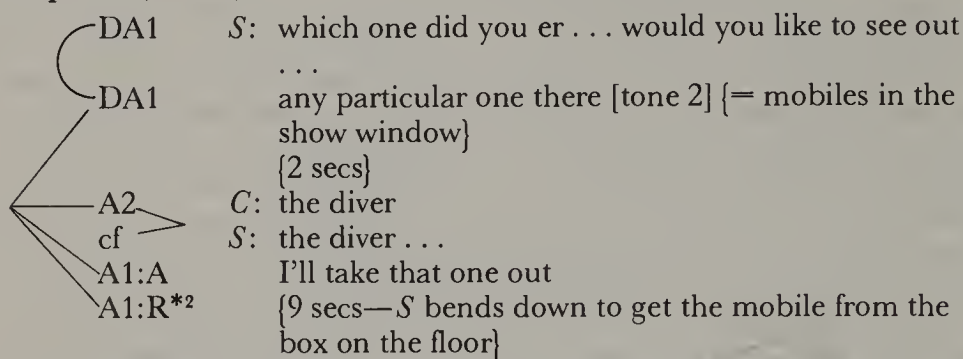
It will be argued that phenomema of the kind described above are generated by the dynamic systems on the discourse stratum and not by the synoptic systems of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE discussed above. The synoptic/dynamic distinction has already been made on the plane of genre. It has been discussed how synoptic networks generate too 'rigid' generic structures and how the generation is more appropriately represented by a flowchart, which can capture the potential dynamic aspects of genres more efficiently. Now the argument will be put forward that the synoptic/dynamic distinction has a general application and certainly seems to operate on the discourse stratum of the language plane. Section 4.1 discussed how Halliday's four discretionary speech functions seem to carry a general function of challenging the initiation. Burton's supporting/challenging distinction seems to capture this generalization, but it has been suggested that challenges are not part of the synoptic systems, but are rather part of the dynamic systems operating on the discourse stratum. The dynamic generation of challenges leads to a generation of different kinds of slots in an exchange from the synoptic generation of moves. But challenges are not the only kind of dynamic phenomena in discourse. There are other kinds of systems which also generate dynamic moves to repair exchanges and guide their completion when trouble occurs. The generation of these moves is not predicted by the synoptic systems of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, but rather by separate dynamic systems, SUSPENDING, ABORTING and ELUCIDATING (the first two have been introduced in Martin 1985, the latter will be introduced below). The generation of dynamic moves by these systems is best represented by a flowchart on the discourse stratum. Wiring the dynamic systems into the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE networks would be complicated, if at all possible, since the dynamic moves seem to be generated at any exchange slot. In short, the flowchart representation brings the dynamic systems into line with the genre dynamics. The beginning of a flowchart representation of exchange structures has already been elaborated by Martin (1985: 266-7). His presentation involves the dynamic representation of the selections at the DK1-slot. The phenomena which will be discussed below will eventually have to be incorporated into such a flowchart. Here, however, as the purpose of the discussion is to refine the descriptive tools of exchanges so that they can be used for the analyses of exchanges in service encounters, neither the position of these systems in the theory nor their dynamic representation will be pursued further.

To begin with, SUSPENDING moves are used as 'a kind of tracking device—they focus on the experiential content of a preceding move and check to make sure it has been heard correctly' (Martin forthcoming: 40). In other words, the suspending moves concentrate on checking and giving assurance about the

transmission of knowledge/action. Below, four types of suspending phenomena will be recognized and exemplified: giving confirmation, back-channelling, requesting confirmation and checking.

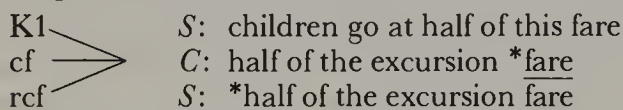
Firstly, an exchange may be suspended for a while to give a participant the opportunity to tell his partner that his message has been heard correctly. Example 11 illustrates a confirmation—move (cf), *the diver*.

Example 11 (Text 5):



After the cf-move *C* could have given a response to confirmation move (rcf), which is in turn illustrated in Example 12.

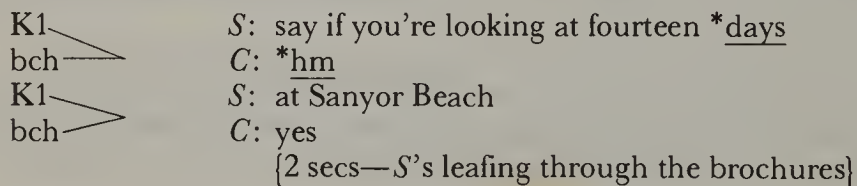
Example 12 (Text 10):



In Example 12 a question arises as to whether in fact cf and rcf-moves could be K2f ^ K1f ('feedback-on-feedback'). The cf-move focuses here on the previous move and thus expresses the fact that the message has been understood. It also offers *S* a chance to correct *C*'s interpretation of K1. Had the message not been heard correctly, *S* would challenge the cf-move and then produce the correct interpretation (see challenges below). K2f does not allow this. Here a criterion for distinguishing the two is suggested: cf repeats the focal point of the preceding message, whereas K2f merely accepts it by a small set of items, such as *yes*, *right*, *fine*, etc.

Secondly, dynamic moves can be back-channels (bch), which give assurance to the speaker that his message is being received (see Duncan 1974). In Example 13 *hm*, *yes* and *hm* are bch-moves. Bch-moves are usually realized paralinguistically or by a small set of items (*yes*, *yeah*) and they typically occur either simultaneously with the message or within the speaker's 'breathing slots' while the speaker is constructing the message.

Example 13 (additional data—TA):



- K1 — S: depending on which departure you wanted
 bch — C: hm
 {4 secs—*S* keeps turning the pages over}
- K1 — S: so all you have to do
 check — fourteen days right [tone 2]
 rcheck — C: uhm
 K1 — S: just come across to the particular place you'd like to
 stay at, etc.

Example 13 also provides an example of a check (check) and a response to check (rcheck): *fourteen days right—uhm*. Because *S*'s message is so long, *S* is worried that *C* might not be able to follow the message.

Example 14 (Text 10):

- K1 — S: the very cheapest fare is an advanced purchase airfare
 ... which is the one which is laid out here
 cfrq — C: here [tone 2] {*C* looks at the brochure *S* has put in front
 of her}
 rcfrq — S: yes ...
 K1 — it depends when you're going, etc.

Lastly, Example 14 illustrates a confirmation request (cfrq), (*here*) and a response to confirmation request (rcfrq) (*yes*). *C*'s cfrq inquires whether *C*'s understanding is the same as *S*'s. Also, cfrq repeats the focal information of the preceding move, but the tone is rising [tone 2], thus indicating that confirmation is demanded, not given (as in cf).

ABORTING systems generate moves which function 'as a kind of a challenge—they focus on the interpersonal contact of a preceding move and attack its validity' (Martin forthcoming: 40). Example 15 illustrates a challenge (ch) (*I haven't got one*).

Example 15 (Text 11):

- K2 — S: what's your phone at home here in Canberra
 ch — C: I haven't got one
 K2 — S: got an address [tone 2]
 K1 — C: 65 ... Linfield St.

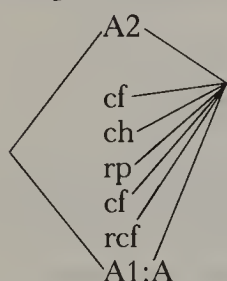
C questions the validity of *S*'s inquiry. The exchange is stranded and *S* quickly has to adopt an alternative strategy. Challenges are often followed by a response to challenge (rch). For example, *S* above could have responded to *C*'s challenge by saying *oh, I see*. But challenges can also be followed by other types of moves, as Example 16 illustrates.

Example 16 (Text 2):

- A1:A — S: it'll fit in the twenty {a tape into a jiffy bag}
 ch — C: no
 —K1 — it's it's a bigger tape than that

By starting an exchange on his own, after challenging *S*'s move (the offer of a bag), *C* justifies his challenge of *S*'s A1:A. Such a following move, here *it's it's a bigger tape than that*, is considered a separate exchange from the first challenged exchange, because it starts a different type of exchange from the one being challenged. The challenged move is part of an action exchange, whereas the justification of challenge starts a knowledge exchange. One could perhaps treat these as 'bound' exchanges, as Berry (1981a: 135–9) treats the challenges which challenge knowledge exchanges. However, this solution is not favoured here because the justification (K1) which follows a challenge must be considered a knowledge exchange 'embedded' within the action exchange. Of course, the justification for the challenge has very much to do with the move challenged. This fact will be captured, as will be seen in Chapters 5 and 6, by the analyses of LEXICAL COHESION (*fit—big*) and REFERENCE (*it—it—a bigger tape; the twenty—it*). Challenging also takes place in Example 17.

Example 17 (additional data—PO)

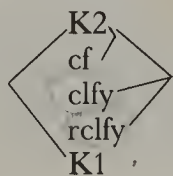


S: any any any parcel sent to London by airmail
register uh insure them
C: register them
S: no
insure them
C: and insure them
S: yeah
C: okay

S's *no* challenges *C*'s cf *register them*. The challenge is caused by *S*'s 'slip' (*register uh insure*). The challenge is then followed by a replay of the correct focal point of A2, a repetition (rp) *insure them*. Once the exchange is brought back to the right track, *C* can reconfirm the A2 with a new cf *and insure them*, which *S*'s rcf *yeah* confirms as the right interpretation. Only then does *C* commit herself to the action.

In addition to the dynamic moves generated by the SUSPENDING and ABORTING systems, dynamic moves generated by ELUCIDATING systems can occur in exchanges. Example 18 will serve as an illustration here.

Example 18 (Text 11):



C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow
S: tomorrow . . .
er morning or afternoon now [tone 2]
C: uh midmorning early afternoon
S: uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15 . . . and a
10:55 . . . and nothing then until 3:40 tomorrow

C presents what he thinks to be an acceptable and a sufficient move, K2. *S* first confirms the reception of the message by a cf, but then realizes he cannot provide a Compliance to *C*'s Need without obtaining some further information from *C*. As there are many daily flights from Canberra to Sydney, *S*

needs to know when *C* intends to fly and the necessary information is elicited by a clarification (clfy), to which *C* responds with a response to clarification (rclfy).

A consideration of SUSPENDING, ABORTING and ELUCIDATING moves is necessary if an account which shows what actually happens in the exchanges in the service encounter texts is aimed at (such systems may naturally function differently in various genres). The dynamic SUSPENDING, ABORTING, ELUCIDATING systems capture how the predicted synoptic sequences in discourse have gone off the track and how they are remedied.

4.3.2 What fills the structural slot in an exchange?

So far it has been established what the functional structural slots of an exchange are, how the slots are sequenced and how a move, which selects independently for MOOD, carries a speech function in a slot. Example 19 illustrates the proposed analysis.

Example 19 (Text 5):

$\begin{cases} K2 = q = \text{polar-interrogative} & C: \text{how much is it \{a mobile\}} \\ K1 = \text{rsq} = \text{elliptical declarative} & S: \text{four fifty.} \end{cases}$

As can be seen, Berry's exchange analysis specifies the functional slots and their sequence as $K2 \wedge K1$. Martin's speech function analysis adds to this that the slots are filled by two moves, selecting independently for MOOD and carrying the functions of *q* and *rsq*, which are lexicogrammatically realized by a selection of polar-interrogative MOOD and an elliptical declarative respectively. In all of Berry's work (1981a, b, c) a speaking turn equals a structural slot which equals a single clause. In many of Martin's (1981a, 1985, forthcoming) examples this is also the case. But there are cases where the criterion of a move selecting independently for MOOD breaks the turn into two and the exchange boundary thus occurs between those two moves in a speaker turn. One such case is given in Example 20 (see also Example 1).

Example 20 (Martin forthcoming: 46–7):

$\begin{cases} K2 = q = \text{polar inter.} & B: \text{have you heard of Baron Munchhausen} \\ K1 = \text{rsq} = \text{decl.} & A: \text{no, I've never heard about them} \\ \text{---} K1 = s = \text{decl.} & \text{it's the first time I've heard of them} \end{cases}$

A's turn selects for MOOD independently twice. The first move is potentially elliptical in its relation to $K2$; thus it is a *rsq*. The next move, because it selects independently for MOOD, is a separate exchange on its own, although, in layman's terms, it could be seen as part of the answer to *B*'s question. However, it does not fulfil the potential ellipsis criterion; thus it is a statement (the feature [initiating] rather than [responding to] has been selected). Martin equates an exchange slot, not with a speaker turn, but with a unit selecting independently for MOOD (note that neither a rankshifted clause functioning as a Qualifier nor hypotactic clauses in a clause complex select independently for MOOD; for a discussion on rankshift and clause complex (hypotaxis and parataxis), see e.g. Halliday 1985a).

Below in Example 21 a text extract from the service encounter data is analysed following the principles outlined so far.

Example 21 (Text 11):

1	— K2 = q = polar-inter.	C: are there buses that go to Sydney uh ... about midday
	— K1 = rsq = ell. decl.	S: no
2	— K1 = s = decl.	there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer
3	— K1 = s = decl.	they have the uh main control
4	— K1 = s = decl.	they are the only ones that operate
		...
5	— K1 = s = decl.	and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon
	— K2f = paralg.	C: uhuh
	— K1f = s = minor	S: yeah

The extract has been analysed following the principle that each clause which selects independently for MOOD is separated into a functional exchange slot and that K1 is the obligatory slot in an exchange. Thus there are five exchanges, three of which are one-move exchanges (2, 3 and 4). In Example 21 *S*'s *no* forms an exchange with *C*'s K2, because it is an elliptical form derived from the move in K2. Also, in the last exchange, more moves are involved: *C*'s *uhuh* and *S*'s *yeah* are a K2f and a K1f following *S*'s last K1. The analysis gives a rather fragmentary picture of the extract. It can be asked whether in fact the whole of *S*'s turn relates to *C*'s inquiry and further, whether *C*'s K2f and *S*'s K1f are not the predictable follow-ups for the whole of the preceding discourse. The structure of K2 ^ K1 ^ K2f ^ K1f would seem to correspond more closely to the unfolding of the social activity which the participants are realizing. Also, Example 22 illustrates that the analysis is not capturing something which perhaps should be captured ('#' signals incongruence in realization between discourse and lexicogrammar).

Example 22 (additional data—TA):

1	— K2 = q = polar-inter.	C: are there any of those that you'd ... recommend yourself [tone 2]
	— K1 = rsq = ell. decl.	S: well all three of them
2	— K1 = s = decl.	we never give out any companies that we don't recommend
	— bch = paralg.	C: uhm
3	— K1 = s = decl.	S: but Newmans 're very good ...
4	— K1 = s = decl.	the Maori Trek 've apparently excellent trips
	— bch = paralg.	C: uhum
	— cf = minor	Maori Trek
	— rcf = paralg.	S: uhm
5	— K1 = Fg(s) = (decl.)	and Centralian it was—

- 6 ——— K1 = s = decl. well I hear those are quite good
 7 ——— K1 = s = decl. C: so that'd be sort of the first
 preference

Following Martin's principles, seven exchanges emerge. only *S's well all three of them* is an rsq in K1 to q in K2 (even here the potential ellipsis criterion is slightly relaxed by allowing *any* to encode the meaning of *which of these would you recommend*, to which *S's* response is then a rsq-move). The dynamic moves are always linked with the functional slots (note that they are not coded for speech function). After Exchange 4 there follows a fragment (Fg). Fragments in this study are coded separately from the following units, because they are sometimes responded to, confirmed, etc., in spite of their truncated form. Once again, in this exchange analysis one is forced to ask: does the recommending end with the first K1 or could a structure K2 ^ K1 extend for the whole extract?

It will be suggested and illustrated below that considering a move complex as the unit filling a slot, rather than the unit selecting independently for mood, will offer a solution to the problems discussed above (see also Ventola forthcoming b). The consideration of a move complex will start by reconsidering Martin's example, Example 20, reanalysed as a clause complex in Example 23 (since the speech function analysis will not be affected, it will not be reproduced).

Example 23 (Martin forthcoming: 46–7):

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{K2} \\ \text{K1} \\ \text{K1} \end{array} \right.$ | $\begin{array}{l} 1 \\ =2 \end{array}$ | <p>B: have you heard of Baron Munchhausen</p> <p>A: no, I've never heard about them</p> <p>it's the first time I've heard of them</p> |
|--|--|---|

A's turn can be considered a move complex, which on the lexicogrammatical stratum is realized by a paratactic clause complex. A paratactic clause complex is a relationship between clauses where the initiating clause (1) has a certain logical relationship to the continuing clause (2). The types of logical relations which connect moves to a move complex are: elaboration ($1^{\wedge}=2$), where (1) restates, specifies, comments or exemplifies (2) (*John didn't wait; he ran away*); extension ($1^{\wedge}+2$), where (1) adds something new, gives exceptions or alternatives to (2) (*John ran away, and Fred stayed behind*); enhancement ($1^{\wedge}\times 2$), where (1) qualifies (2) by time, place, cause or condition circumstances (*John was scared, so he ran away*); locution ($1^{\wedge}''2$), where (1) presents (2) as a construction of words (*John said: "I'm running away"*); idea ($1^{\wedge}'2$), where (1) projects (2) as an idea, a thought (*John thought to himself: 'I'll run away'*) (the examples are from Halliday 1985a: 192–248; other examples are given in Ventola forthcoming b). The kind of logical relationship that can be found between the two moves in Example 23 is elaboration, $1^{\wedge}=2$. This move complex relationship is indicated by a curving line connecting the two moves. The two moves together now fill a functional slot of K1. The continuing move ($=2$) is related to B's K2-move as a K1-move, but the relationship is mediated by the initiating (1) K1-move. The question may be raised as to whether it is then at all necessary to keep the two separate K1-

moves instead of just conflating the two together. The reason why such conflation is not possible will become apparent when Example 22 is re-analysed as a move complex below, but first Example 21 is reanalysed as Example 24.

Example 24 (Text 11):

K2		C: are there buses that go to Sydney uh . . . about midday
K1	1	S: no
K1	=2	there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer
K1	=3	they have the uh main control
K1	=4	they are the only ones that operate . . .
K1	+5	and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon
K2f		C: uhuh
K1f		S: yeah

The move complex relations in Example 24 are straightforward (for a detailed discussion of this example, see Ventola forthcoming b). The unfolding of the exchange is followed, firstly, by angled lines, which connect functionally different kinds of moves and, secondly, by curving lines, which connect functionally same kinds of moves. Again one can ask whether it would not be economical to conflate the moves joined by the curving lines into one move, since they fill the same structural slot in an exchange. The re-analysis of Example 22 as Example 25 will show why such conflation is not possible.

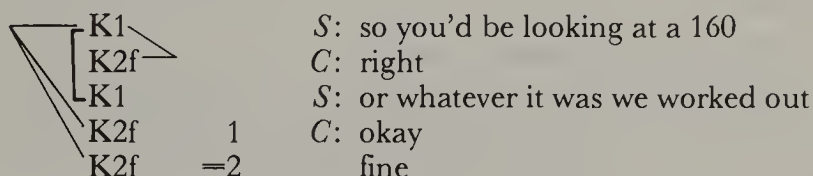
Example 25 (additional data—TA):

K2		C: are there any of those that you'd . . . recommend yourself [tone 2]
K1	1	S: well all three of them
K1	×2	we never give out any companies that we don't recommend
bch		C: uhm
K1	×3	S: but Newmans 're very good . . .
K1	+4	the Maori Trek 've apparently excellent trips
bch		C: uhum
cf		Maori Trek
rcf		S: uhm
K1-Fg	+5	and Centralian it was—
K1	=6	well I hear those are quite good
K1		C: so that'd be sort of the first preference

The conflation of moves in a move complex into one move is not possible, since dynamic moves frequently intervene the construction of a move complex. In spite of these 'interrupting' dynamic moves, the logical relations between the moves can be traced. The initiating clause (1) *well all three of them*

is enhanced by *we never give out any companies that we don't recommend* (x2). This move is then followed by *C*'s bch-move, which indicates that *C* is paying attention to *S*'s explanation. The recommendation continues with an enhancement *but Newmans 're very good* (x3), which is followed by an extension *the Maori Trek 've apparently excellent trips* (+4). Again dynamic moves interfere with the construction of the move complex; note how *S* with a rcf-move feels compelled to acknowledge *C*'s cf-move. *and Centralian it was*—is a Fragment, but the conjunction *and* indicates that it was intended as an extension to what has preceded. *S*, however, changes her mind and an elaboration is produced, *well I hear those are quite good* (=6). If the argument that logical relations combine moves into a move complex filling the functional slots (here K1) is accepted, it becomes obvious why all functionally same kind of moves cannot be conflated into one in the exchange analyses. The move complex fills the slot K1 synoptically (i.e. it functions as a whole in K1), but dynamically, as the exchange unfolds, the dynamic moves intervene continuously in the construction of move complexes. Usually such an intervention takes place at boundaries of units selecting independently for MOOD. But this is not always necessarily the case. In Example 26 an intervention takes place in the middle of a move.

Example 26 (Text 10)



S's *or whatever it was we worked out* is a rankshifted clause. It functions as a part of the paratactic nominal group *a 160 or whatever it was we worked out*, started in *S*'s previous turn before *C*'s K2f, *right*. *C* seems to think that *S* has finished with the first part of the nominal group, *a 160*, and therefore produces the next predictable slot K2f without realizing that she is actually interrupting the still on-going structural development of *S*'s move. It is only after *S* also finishes with the latter part that *C*'s follow-ups, *okay* and *fine*, are appropriate (they are functionally the same kind of moves, an elaboration move complex ($1 \hat{=} 2$) in a K2f). The interrupted structural relationships will be indicated by the notation of a bracket line which connects the two parts of the same structural unit. Where such 'butting in' takes place, for the sake of clarity, as well as for the sake of indicating that the exchange still continues, the angled line connecting K1 and K2f will be moved to the right-hand side of the exchange structure representation, as shown in Example 26 (usually only dynamic moves appear on the right).

The extension of a move complex as a unit which may also fill a functional slot does not make a move obsolete. It is still a basic unit in the analyses. The criterion of a unit selecting independently for MOOD still functions as a recognition criterion for the discourse units between which logical relations exist or do not exist, i.e. moves. If the logical relations can be established, then

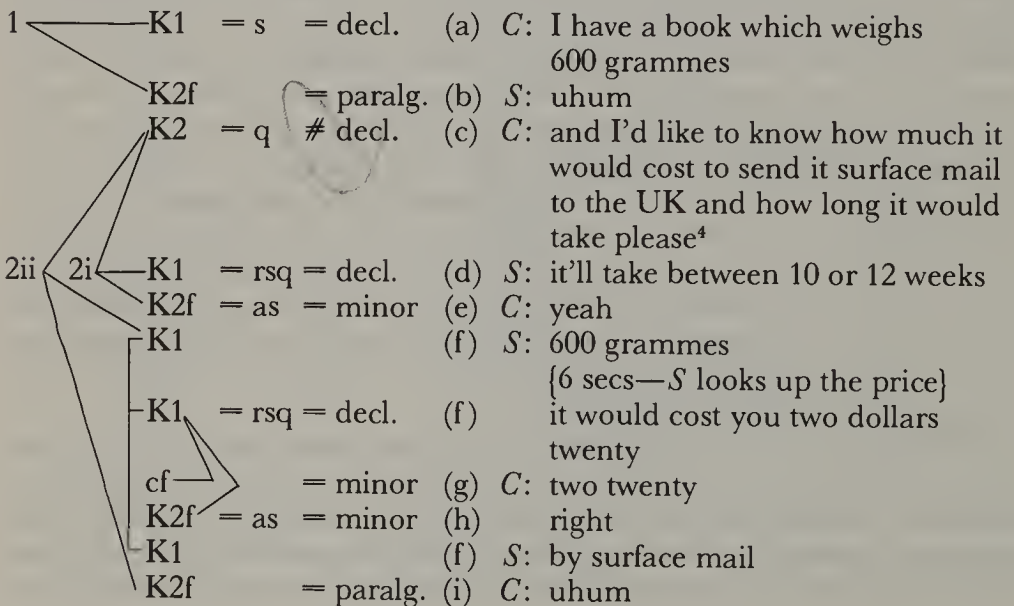
what fills the functional slot of an exchange is a move complex. Further, the potential ellipsis criterion does still determine the first move of the move complex which functions as a response. That is, if after K2 there is a move complex filling the K1-slot, the first move of the move complex must comply with the potential ellipsis criterion. Thus, although in (K2) *who owns that car—* (K1) *cars are no longer luxury items* (1), *people can afford them now* (=2), a logical relation of elaboration ($1^{\wedge}=2$) connects the two moves in K1, the move complex does not function as a response to the initiation in K2, because the move in the first K1 does not comply with the potential ellipsis criterion.³

To summarize, it has been suggested that moves (units selecting independently for mood) or move complexes (moves connected to a complex by logical relations) fill functional slots in exchanges. An exchange is realized when a K1-slot has been filled by either a move or a move complex; other slots may of course be generated in an exchange. The presentation above must be interpreted as a tentative working hypothesis, which, at least to a certain degree, has proved illuminating in the study of service encounter texts, but naturally more work on moves and move complexes in exchanges needs to be done in other genres too.

4.3.3 A split exchange

The way in which dynamic systems interfere in the synoptic exchange structure generation has been discussed previously. The synoptic structure is also broken in a further phenomenon found in service encounter texts, in the splitting of an exchange. In a split exchange a participant does more than one thing with a move, i.e. demands/gives more than one instance of goods & services or information. Example 27 illustrates the point.

Example 27 (additional data—PO):



In (c) *C* makes two requests with only one move: 'I'd like to know x , where $x = y + z$ '. Two paratactically organized ($\beta 1 \wedge \beta + 2$) demanding moves are presented as part of a hypotactic structure $\alpha \wedge \beta 1 \wedge \beta + 2$ of (c) (for a discussion of hypotaxis, see Halliday 1985a). *S*'s Compliance does not follow this organization, but rather 'I'll first tell you about y , and then about z '. No logical relation is established between (d) and (f). Further support for considering (d) and (f) as a split response to (c) is that these moves also show a split in lexis: *cost*, *dollars* and *surface mail* are cohesive with *cost*, *send surface mail* and *UK* in the first part of (c), whereas *take* and *week* in (d) are cohesive with *long* and *take* in the latter part of (c). The analysis to the left of the text in Example 27 demonstrates the coding used for split exchanges (2i and 2ii).

4.3.4 Linguistic services

Service encounter is a genre where interaction is mainly orientated towards demanding and giving goods & services. Its CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realization can thus be expected to be highly geared towards action-orientated exchanges. Even demanding and giving information in this genre may be treated as a service, a linguistic service. What is meant by a linguistic service is illustrated with a constructed example. *A* is walking in the street. *B* approaches *A* and the conversation in Example 28 takes place.

Example 28 (constructed):

- (1) *B*: excuse me
- (2) what's the time please
- (3) *A*: two thirty {looking at his/her watch}
- (4) *B*: okay
- (5) thanks

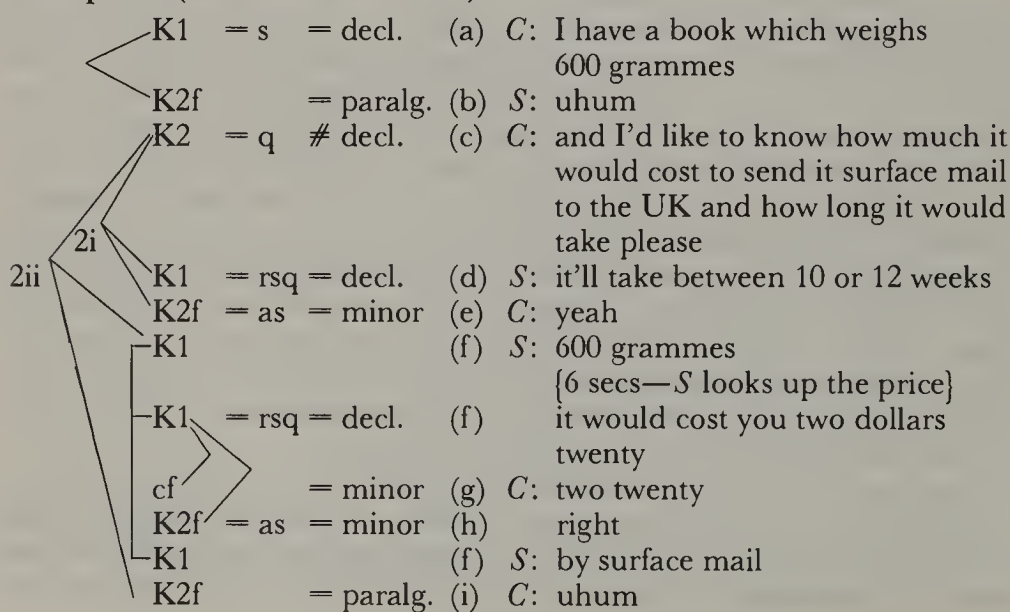
(1) *Excuse me* catches *A*'s attention. (2) *what's the time please* first appears as [demand:information], a question realized by a wh-interrogative MOOD choice. (3) *two thirty* is a response to (2) with a typical wh-ellipsis pattern. But what about (4) *okay* and (5) *thanks*? These two items usually appear as follow-up moves in action-, not in knowledge-orientated exchanges. Backtracking now, it is also noticed that (2) includes *please*, another typical marker of an action exchange. It seems that demanding and giving information is treated as a service, a linguistic service, rephraseable as 'do me a service—tell me the time please!' (*what's the time* without *please* would also be a linguistic service; *please* simply marks the linguistic service explicitly). This kind of phenomenon is fairly frequent in social interaction. For example, a clerk may ask a customer *what's your name please* when filling out a form for the customer. The name itself does not matter to him. What is requested is not the information but a linguistic act of giving the information.

Sometimes it is very hard to tell whether what has been said is meant as a linguistic service or simply as a piece of information. It is often only by looking at what follows and by examining the context that one can decide whether something constitutes a linguistic service or not. Given appropriate contexts,

almost anything can be turned into a linguistic service. An exchange like *linguistics is hard—yeah* is almost certainly an exchange of information (or opinions). An exchange *linguistics is hard—okay thanks* may at first seem ill-formed. But in a context, such as a second-year student instructing a first-year student in what subjects to study, the exchange becomes plausible. The thanking is done for the valuable linguistic service and the result is that linguistics is scrapped from the first-year's timetable.

Some useful recognition indicators for linguistic services, such as *please* (in Australian English often *thanks*) and *okay* or *thanks* in follow-up moves (cf. action exchanges) have already been mentioned. Of course all of them may not appear in an utterance at the same time. The following criterion can be followed when exchanges are classified as linguistic services: some of the markers must actually be present, while others have a potential for appearing in a particular slot typical to them. The notation that will be adopted for linguistic services will be, for example, A1:LS [K2], which shows that a [demand:information] here functions as a linguistic service, A1:LS. Linguistic service-moves are, for example in post offices, usually followed by non-verbal action. Thus the function of *how much would this be please*, said to a post official when handing over a letter, is twofold: the post official is requested to tell how much the letter will cost as well as to give the right amount of stamps to the customer. An example of a linguistic service has already appeared in Example 27, but there it has been analysed as a knowledge-orientated split exchange. It is reanalysed as a linguistic service in Example 29. As can be seen, the exchange complies with the criteria for linguistic services. The request includes *please* in (c). Both response parts of this split exchange and with C's follow-up moves, *yeah* and *uhum*, both of which could potentially have been *okay/thanks* had the exchange not been a split one.

Example 29 (additional data—PO):



Linguistic service moves have not been incorporated into the EXCHANGE system network presented in Figure 4.3, as they are, at least at this stage of investigation, felt to be very genre specific. In future work how expansive the phenomenon of linguistic services in various genres is needs to be explored. In this study linguistic services will be treated with caution and exchanges will not be coded as such unless enough evidence in terms of the criteria introduced can be found to justify the coding.

4.4 CONVERSATION STRUCTURE AND THE GENERIC STRUCTURE: ELEMENTS OF THE SERVICE ENCOUNTER TEXTS

The discussion has so far focused on structures of single exchanges. Attention will now be turned to the question of whether exchange organization, i.e. the realization of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in service encounter data, in any way mirrors the organization of the texts on a higher plane. Can it be shown that CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE reflects the generic structures of the texts? If so, this knowledge could be used in applied linguistics for designing teaching programmes where students not only learn to use different speech functions sequentially, but also learn how speech function sequences are sequenced at different stages of social interaction. In Chapter 3 the elements of service encounters in the data have been hypothesized. The texts have intuitively been sectioned into these elements and it will now be seen whether exchange and speech function analyses justify the posited generic structure realizations in the texts (below PO = post office, SH = shop, TA = travel agency, C = customer and S = server).

4.4.1 GREETING

The first element hypothesized in Chapter 3 is GREETING (GR). This element does not occur in any of the analysed texts, but it does occur in the additional data, at least in some PO texts.⁵ Usually in post offices the tempo of interaction is rapid and routinized. People queue up and the whole set-up may thus intimidate greeting, suggesting it would be too 'chatty' and wasting the server's time. If, however, the interactants are frequent visitors in these institutions, they get to know the servers and soon treat them like acquaintances and friends whom they feel obliged to greet (see Ventola 1979). But, since such interactions where interactants were acquainted have been excluded from the study, the exchange analyses in the analysed texts do not support the recognition of the element GR in the texts.

4.4.2 ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION

The next hypothesized element, ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION (AA), is realized in all PO-texts and in one SH- and TA-text (Text 5, Text 11). One exchange,

such as the one in Example 30, has typically realized this element in the texts (NV = non-verbal):

Example 30 (Text 1):

$\begin{array}{l} \text{Att} = \text{cl} = \text{minor} \\ \text{RAtt} = \text{NV} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} S: \text{ yes please} \\ [C \text{ steps forward}] \end{array}$

The reason why AA is used in PO more than in SH or TA locations is the simple fact that *S* cannot approach *C* in PO. *S* stands behind a counter and thus must call *C* to approach. In SH- and TA-locations *S* may sit behind a desk or a table, but may always come round to *C*. The realization of [attention orientating] exchange seems to clearly mark the realization of AA in service encounters.

4.4.3 SERVICE BID

The SERVICE BID (SB) seems to be realized in none of the PO-texts, in only one SH-text,⁶ but in all TA-texts. This could easily lead to the conclusion that AA and SB are in fact one and the same function; only the realizations are different. But the two elements realize different feature selections from the EXCHANGE network: AA is realized by an exchange which has selected for the feature [attention orientated], whereas SB is realized by [message orientated; action; A-event: negotiated]. Such extended paraphrases of each element as *is anybody waiting down there?* (AA) and *would you like me to show you some x?* (SB) show the functional difference between the two elements. Also, their simultaneous appearance in a text functions as an argument for their recognition as two separate elements, as illustrated in Example 31.

Example 31 (additional data—PO):

S: yes [tone 2]
 can I help you
C: four 55-cent stamps please

Typically SB is realized by *can I help you?*. After *C*'s *yes*, if it occurs, *C* proceeds to present his Need. In other words, the whole text is seen as the action which takes the form of non-verbal or linguistic service. The exchange structure thus projects the boundaries of the whole service action and is best characterized as a sequence of

$\begin{array}{l} \text{DA1} \\ \text{A2} \\ \text{A1} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \\ \\ \text{[the whole text]} \end{array}$

4.4.4 SERVICE

In SERVICE (S) the relationship between the generic structure and the exchange structure in texts is initially hard to distinguish, as S often involves more than one exchange and, further, each exchange appears to be so unique because of the intervening of dynamic systems in the synoptic patterns of

exchanges as explained above (Section 4.3.1 above). Yet a basic pattern emerges. Each S involves some kind of nuclear activity which can be expressed in general terms as a Need and a Compliance. Sometimes presenting a Need and giving a Compliance to it is fairly straightforward. The Need can be expressed by one move made by *C* and the Compliance by another move by *S*, i.e. there is a one-to-one realizational relationship between the nuclear activity and the exchange. An exchange which realizes the nuclear activity in a one-to-one way can be called a nuclear exchange for the sake of easy reference. The nuclear exchange is either $K2 \wedge K1$ or $A2 \wedge A1$ (where, as discussed earlier, $K1$ and $A1$ can be clause complexes and $A1$ can be $A1:A$, $A1:LS$ and/or $A1:R$). The boundaries of the nuclear activity, Need and Compliance, coincide with the boundaries of the nuclear exchange in very routinized, stereotyped interaction. Example 32 is an illustration of interaction where the S-element equals one exchange.

Example 32 (additional data—PO):

$\begin{matrix} & A2 \\ & \diagdown \\ C: & \text{two airletters please} \\ & \diagup \\ & A1 \end{matrix}$
 $\{S \text{ gets the aerogrammes}\}$

Sometimes S has to entice C into presenting his Need and in these occasions the nuclear exchange is initiated by a DX1-move, as in Example 33.

Example 33 (Text 5):

K1		C:	I'm just looking at those mobiles
	K2f	S:	okay
DA1	1		uhm . . . which one did you er . . . would you
			like to see out . . .
DA1	=2		any particular one there [tone 2] {there = a
			show window} {2 secs}
A2		C:	the diver

A one-to-one realizational relationship between SERVICE and the exchange is, however, an exception rather than a rule in the analysed texts. Interaction in service encounters involves a lot of negotiation and S is thus frequently realized by more than one exchange. Part of this negotiation is that *C* may introduce his Need with an exchange which precedes the nuclear exchange, Introduction to Need, as exemplified in Example 33 above.

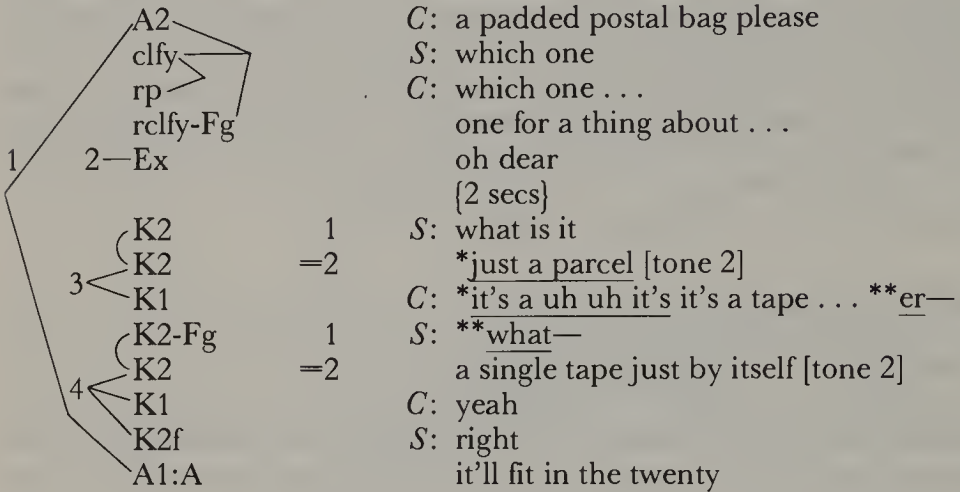
Also, as discussed previously, dynamic systems frequently intervene in the development of a nuclear exchange, as in Example 34 where the SUSPENDING moves delay providing the Compliance in A2 in SERVICE.

Example 34 (Text 9):

A2:  C: could you give us the . . . *respective charges
please
cf S: *the fares
rcf C: yes

But if the Need has not been clearly expressed, the Compliance cannot be provided. A Specification of Need is needed and it is realized either by dynamic *clfy* ^ *rcly*-moves from the ELUCIDATION systems or by knowledge-orientated exchanges. An example of these different Specification sequences is given in Example 35.

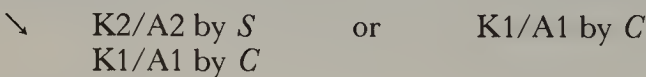
Example 35 (Text 2):



C's first move, which expresses the Need, has not been clear from the point of view of *S*, as there is more than one type of postal bag which *S* could offer *C*. *S* therefore tries to rectify the exchange by a *clfy*-move. But *C* is not able to provide the clarification. *C* needs more time to think which bag to get, and therefore gives up momentarily. Exchange 2 is an expression of *C*'s despair. But *S* tries again, this time with a knowledge-orientated Exchange 3, which then produces a Specification of Need. *S* knows that *C* wants to mail a tape, but wants to verify that *C* only wants to send the tape by itself. Once *S* has received this Specification, a Compliance with *C*'s Need can be provided (which is, however, challenged by *C*, see the Appendix). Note that *S*'s turns *what is it just a parcel* and *what—a single tape just by itself* are both K2, which are related in a move complex by an elaboration.

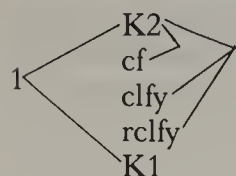
Specifications can be initiated by *S*, by a Server-initiated exchange (X2), or alternatively by *C*, by a Customer-initiated exchange (X1). The following pattern emerges:

Specification



Once the Compliance to the Need has been given, realized by the X1 of the nuclear exchange, it is possible that further explanations or additions are provided to the Compliance. Such Additions of Compliance are realized by exchanges which follow the nuclear exchange, as illustrated in Example 36.

Example 36 (Text 11):



C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow

S: tomorrow

morning or afternoon now [tone 2]

C: uh midmorning early afternoon

S: uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:30 . . . and a 10:55 . . . and nothing then until 3:40 tomorrow {4 secs}

C: 10:55 {*C* mumbles to himself}

S: we normally have one at ten past one but it's out earlier tomorrow it's 10:55

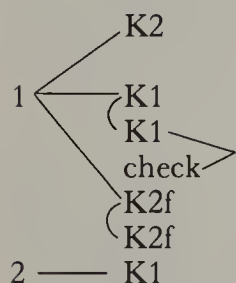
2 — Ex

3 — { K1 1
K1 +2
K1 =3 }

S provides a Compliance to *C*'s Need. As *C* seems to be contemplating the information given by *S*, *S* feels that he ought to explain why there is such a big gap between flights. So *S* provides an Addition to the Compliance, realized by a knowledge-orientated exchange—Exchange 3 (a move complex where the relations are extension and elaboration).

Additions can naturally just as well be elicited by *C* when *C* is not fully satisfied with *S*'s Compliance. *C* elicits more information by presenting an initiating move of a knowledge-orientated exchange, as in Example 37.

Example 37 (Text 8):



C: I was just wondering if you have any wallets for men

S: no

they're mostly souvenir *ones see [tone 2]

C: *oh I see

**yeah

S: **they're the plain ones there {5 secs—*C* starts looking at the wallets pointed out by *S*}

C: they're all the same style are they [tone 2]

S: there are a few . . . different ones there

2 — K1

3 — { K2
K1 }

When *C* enters the shop *S* is engaged with another customer, so *C* starts looking at wallets on a shelf. *S* then comes to offer her services to *C*. In Exchange 1 *C* expresses the Need, to which *S* provides a Compliance, indicating that in fact the wallets *C* is looking at are not the kinds *C* has said she wants. Exchange 2 is an Addition to Compliance. Exchange 3 is also an Addition, this time initiated by *C*, to elicit more information about the wallets. In short, Additions to Compliance can be realized by either a Server-initiated exchange (X1) or by a Customer-initiated exchange (X2):

Addition ↘ K1/A1 by *S* or K2/A2 by *C*
K1/A1 by *S*

Nuclear exchanges may get stranded when a previous move is ABORTED. Text 2 provides an illustration of this. The way in which *S*'s NEED in this text is remedied has already been discussed in Example 35. In Example 38 *S* provides the Compliance, realized in A1:A, the move is challenged by *C*, i.e. the Compliance is not what *C* wants.

Example 38 (Text 2):

	A1:A		<i>S</i> : it'll fit in the twenty
	ch		<i>C</i> : no
1	—K1		it's it's a bigger tape than that
2	—DA1-Fg		<i>S</i> : well what about the <u>*twenty-five</u>
3	—A2-Fg	1	<i>C</i> : <u>*I guess</u> I'm gonna have to look at the—
	ch		it might be a bit narrow
	A2-Fg	=2	I'm gonna have <u>*to look at the thirty—</u>
	rch		<i>S</i> : <u>*yeah</u>
4	—K1-Fg		well . . . they are only—
	K2f	1	<i>C</i> : yeah
	K2f	=2	yeah
	K2f	=3	<u>*right</u>
	Frame		<i>S</i> : <u>*all right</u>
5	—K1		that's easy
	DA1		if you don't like that you'll have to have a
6	—A2		thirty-five
	cf		<i>C</i> : I'll have to have a thirty-five cent one won't
	rcf		I [tone 2]
	A1:R		<i>S</i> : no choice
			<i>C</i> : right
			{7 secs— <i>S</i> gets the bag}

Since the initial Compliance to the Need is aborted by a challenge (in Exchange 1 *C* justifies the challenge), a new Need has to be formulated. *S* makes an attempt at this by offering *C* a 25-cent bag (DA1-Fg), which is, however, interrupted by *C*'s own reformulation of the Need, A2-Fg, which is fragmented, because *C* stops to respond to *S*'s offer by a new challenge. *C* then restarts the Need formulation (A2-Fg), but is now interrupted by *S*'s response to *C*'s challenge (rch). *S* takes over the floor and begins to explain impatiently that she has done all she can for *C*. But realizing that servers are not allowed to lose patience with customers, *S* regains control and never finishes the move (K1-Fg). *C* realizes *S* is upset and provides a comforting follow-up (K2f). *S* then decides to make another attempt. The new attempt is framed by *all right* (for frames see Chapter 7). Exchange 6 is *S*'s introduction to her last attempt to solve the problem. *S* makes the last offer in a DA1-slot which is then accepted by *C*.

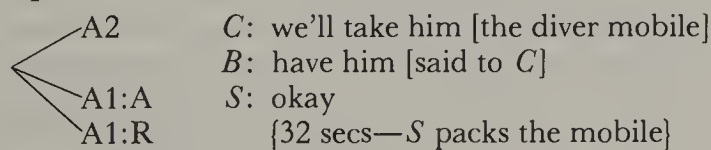
Negotiations for Need are naturally not always as complex as the one in Text 2. But the analysed data show that most exchanges in SERVICE are at least somehow negotiated, remedied, interrupted, etc. Consequently, each text looks unique in the way that SERVICE is realized. At first it seems that the

SERVICES in the analysed texts share no common features of exchange realization. One exchange realization can rarely be correlated with a generic SERVICE element. However, as discussed earlier, the SERVICES in the texts seem to share patterns of nuclear exchanges, Specifications of Need and Additions to Compliance. But note that nuclear exchanges, Specifications and Additions cannot be differentiated by the kindness of the exchange (all can be either knowledge or action exchanges), but rather by who initiates the exchange and with what kind of a slot. Nuclear exchanges are Customer-initiated with a slot X2. Specifications are either Server-initiated with a X2-slot or Customer-initiated with a slot X1. Additions are either Customer-initiated with a X2-slot or Server-initiated with a slot X1. Thus, when these patterns are also taken into account, the boundaries of elements, as indicated by the exchanges realizing Nuclear exchanges, Specifications and Additions, seem to indicate the hypothesized boundaries of the S-elements in the texts. But it has to be pointed out here that the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE analyses necessarily have to be supported by further evidence from other discourse systems, especially evidence from structures generated by LEXICAL COHESION and REFERENCE. That is, if Specifications and Additions are indeed part of a particular nuclear exchange (Need and Compliance), then they must be lexically cohesive and form retraceable reference chains through the S-element. This will be discussed in detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.4.5 RESOLUTION

In RESOLUTION (R) a decision to buy/not buy the goods is made. Thus, its realization largely depends on whether the choice of goods exists (although not always, see e.g. Text 9 where *S* offers brochures to *C*). In Example 39, *C* and *B* have been looking at different kinds of mobiles, out of which one is selected:

Example 39 (Text 5):



In the texts the typical realization for *R* is *C*'s A2, responded to by *S*'s A1:R. This realization is like the nuclear exchange in action exchanges. Thus, the exchange structure realization does not differentiate it from the SERVICE. It is only in the realization of *S* and *R* that a difference can be observed. A move in A2 in the realization of *R* is a declarative clause in future tense. When a move in A2 in the Need of *S* is incongruently realized by a declarative clause, it is typically either in present tense, e.g. (Text 12) *C*: *well I want to . . . rebook to Brisbane* or in present continuous, e.g. (Text 5) *C*: *I'm just looking at those mobiles*.

4.4.6 PAY

The element PAY (P) consists of two activities: requesting and giving the payment and giving and receiving the change, which is, however, not realized

if the payment has been exact. Usually there are two exchanges which realize these activities (A1:R is the only obligatory move in both exchanges):

payment A2 by *S* followed by A1:R by *C*
change A1:R by *S* followed by A2f by *S*

Examples 40 and 41 show the realization of P:

Example 40 (Text 11):

A2	<i>S</i> : thirty-six dollars ninety
A1:R	{ <i>C</i> given two twenty-dollar notes to <i>S</i> }
A2f	<i>S</i> : thanks very much
	{2 secs— <i>S</i> gets the change}
A1:A	<i>S</i> : thirty-six ninety thirty-seven three is forty
A1:R	{ <i>S</i> gives the money to <i>C</i> while speaking}
A2f	<i>C</i> : thanks very much

Example 41 (Text 3):

	A2	<i>S</i> : one dollar fifteen altogether thank you
	A1:A	<i>C</i> : there's the eighty
	1i A1:R	{4 secs— <i>C</i> is counting her coins}
	1ii A1:A	<i>C</i> : there's the twenty-five (laughs)
	A1:R	{ <i>C</i> gives <i>S</i> twenty-five cents}
	K1-Fg	emptying out all my—
	K2f	<i>S</i> : it's all right
	-K1	I don't care how it comes . . . as long as it comes
1iii	A1:A	<i>C</i> : (her' y're)
	A1:R	{ <i>C</i> hands over the rest of the sum}
	A2f	<i>S</i> : thanks
		{2 secs— <i>S</i> counts the money}

In Example 40 both the payment and the giving of change are realized. In Example 41 only the payment is realized, as the sum that *C* has given is exact and therefore giving change is not necessary, but the payment is realized by a split exchange (1i, 1ii, 1iii). The moves in exchanges which realize P are very distinct in their grammatical realization; mostly they are minor clauses. The lexical choices are from a very closed set of lexis, the numbers. These facts make it impossible to mix the exchanges in P with the other exchanges which appear in the analysed texts, although the structure of P exchanges seems to resemble that of the nuclear exchange in *S* and the exchange in R (A2 ^ A1:R). But the difference can again be made in terms of who initiates the action exchange: in P A2 is initiated by *S*, whereas in the elements S and R A2 is initiated by *C*.

4.4.7 GOODS HANDOVER

The exchange which typically realizes GOODS HANDOVER (GH) is *S*'s A1:A and A1:R followed by *C*'s A2f move, as shown in Example 42.

Example 42 (Text 1):

		{ <i>S</i> puts the first day covers into a bag }
└ A1:A	<i>S</i> :	here we are
└ A1:R		{ 2 secs— <i>S</i> hands the bag to <i>C</i> }
└ A2f	<i>C</i> :	thank you

Frequently, GH is realized by an exchange which consists of the non-verbally realized A1:R only. GH is thus often an inaudible element on the tapes, but one which has, nevertheless, to be accounted for. Mostly, however, it is followed by A2f, which makes the task of locating its realization on tapes easier. As can be seen, the exchange structure of GH is typically the same as that of giving change. However, the speech function assignments for moves, the mood realizations and the lexical realizations in the grammar will keep these exchanges apart, e.g. A1:A in GH is an offer whereas in P it is a statement.

4.4.8 CLOSING

CLOSING (CL) is an element which indicates that the major service activity in the encounter is over. It closes the attention and is realized by a closing attention-orientating exchange. This exchange is realized by moves FAtt ^ RFAtt, but often only FAtt alone occurs.

Example 43 (Text 9):

	Frame	<i>S</i> :	okay [tone 2]
└	FAtt	<i>C</i> :	thanks very much
└	RFAtt	<i>S</i> :	right

It appears that the customer is usually the one who produces FAtt, but, as can be seen in Example 43, the move can be enticed by *S* with the use of a frame (see Chapter 7). Sometimes when these moves are realized simultaneously, as is the case in Example 44, one can barely speak of an 'exchange sequence'.

Example 44 (Text 12):

	Frame	<i>C</i> :	okay
└	?FAtt		* <u>thank you very much</u>
└	?RFAtt	<i>S</i> :	* <u>thanks very much</u> Mr Durton

It may of course be that in Example 43 *S* has interpreted *C*'s *okay* as a FAtt, since *okay* may also realize FAtt and this is why by *S* produces the RFAtt simultaneously.

4.4.9 GOODBYE

GOODBYE (GB) involves options [greeting:closing] from the EXCHANGE network and is realized by an exchange structure GB ^ RGb. However, in the collected data GB is realized only once and even then only Gb is realized, as shown in Example 45.

Example 45 (Text 9):

— GB S: bye bye

This infrequent realization of GB in the service encounter data throws some doubt on whether the [greeting:closing] of GB, as well as [greeting:opening] of GR, belong to the features of service encounter exchange generating network at all, although they have been presented in Figure 4.3. These elements do appear now and again in the service encounter texts and therefore they cannot be completely ignored. Their generation in service encounter texts is, however, probably best explained as an influence of some additional TENOR choices rather than those typically selected in service encounters.

4.5 SUMMARIZING REMARKS ON CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

When CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURES alone, i.e. exchanges generated by the EXCHANGE and SPEECH FUNCTION networks, are considered, each text seems to have its own unique patterns. But when these patterns are related to the higher-level semiotics through a realization relationship, some similarities between various realizations of the generic structure elements in terms of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE emerge. It may be that one text does not have in its realization the element AA and therefore no exchange structure realizing it, but that several of the other analysed texts do, gives evidence for the existence of the AA-element on the genre level. It may be that in some texts the S-element is realized by a single exchange, whereas in the other texts several embedded exchanges which realize Specifications of Need are necessary. But in spite of these variations, the same basic patterns of conversational structure can be found in the nuclear exchanges. These patterns are summarized in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 shows the hypothesized generic structure elements which function in service encounters. The analyses of exchange patterns in the texts have led to the generalizations made about the typical realizations of exchanges in the elements. The exchange realizations in the generic elements differ either in terms of the type of moves or in terms of who initiates the exchange, except for the S and R elements. The exchange patterns in these elements do not support their distinction as separate elements. However, evidence from other generated discourse structures is also needed before they can be classified as the same or separate elements. Another obvious fact which the analyses have brought out is the interpretation of the elements GR and GB as part of service encounter interaction. That is to say, they can appear in service encounters, but are very likely motivated by the other social roles prevailing in the situation besides server/customer.

In short, CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in service encounters does at least to a degree indicate the realization of generic structure elements in the service encounter genre. But it seems clear that other supporting evidence for similarities of generic structures in texts is also needed. This may be obtained

Table 4.2 Generic structure elements and their typical exchange patterns

GR	Gr	by C/S			
	Rgr	by S/C			
AA	Att	by S			
	Ratt	by C			
SB	DA1	by S			
	A2	by C			
S	A2	by C	or	K2 K1	by C
	A1:A	by S			by S
	A1:R	by S			
R	A2	by C			
	A1:A	by S			
	A1:R	by S			
P	A2	by S			
	A1:R	by C			
	A2f	by S			
GH	A1:R	by S			
	A2f	by C			
CL	FAtt	by C/S			
	FRatt	by S/C			
GR	Gr	by C/S			
	Rgr	by S/C			

by looking at how other discourse systems, together with CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, function simultaneously in the texts. Such shunting between analyses on the discourse stratum and on the higher planes of semiotics allows a comprehensive account of what is actually going on in a text and how a text as an instance is related to the higher semiotic systems (see Chapter 8).

NOTES

1. In Martin (forthcoming) the page numbers refer to the manuscript page numbers throughout.
2. In Text 5 this A1:R is unsuccessful (shown by the asterisk), since *S* does not find the mobile (see the text in the Appendix).
3. In some cases the potential ellipsis criterion has, however, been relaxed in the analysis, for example in such sequences as A: *are you coming back today?*—B: *this evening* (an example of a supplementary response in Halliday & Hasan 1976: 213), the ellipsis is considered to provide a sufficient link; thus B's utterance is (K1) [*yes I am coming back*] (1), (K1) [*I am coming back*] *this evening* (=2), which allows the description of turns as a K2 ^ K1 structure. Also, in such interpersonal metaphors as S: *how long were you thinking of going for*—B: *I am hoping at the moment it'd be at least four or five weeks*, the potential ellipsis criterion is relaxed. A strict criterion would not allow B's move to be interpreted as K1 to S's K2. What seems to complicate matters

is that S's *for how long* is coded as a circumstantial Adjunct, but in C's turn the wh-information comes out in the interpersonal structure as part of a Complement (realized by a rankshifted clause: I = Subject, am = Finite, hoping = Predicator, at the moment = Adjunct, it'd be at least 4 or 5 weeks = Complement. If, however, one interprets *I am hoping* as an interpersonal metaphor for *hopefully*, one gets closer to the potential ellipsis criterion. The reading then is: *hopefully, at the moment, it'd be at least four or five weeks*. Here *four or five weeks* is functioning experientially as a Circumstantial Extent and thus provides the information requested by S in this way and allows the structural interpretation $K2 \wedge K1$ (for interpersonal metaphors, see Halliday 1985a).

4. This K2 move will later be reinterpreted as a linguistic service (see Section 4.3.4).
5. The data collection methods may have interfered with the realization of this element in SH and TA. In these encounters the researcher asked the informant's permission to record the conversation before the actual interaction with the servers started. In PO the informants were informed about the recording by signs.
6. The reason why SB did not occur in the other SH-texts may have been due to the fact that the shops chosen as locations were very much 'walk-in-walk-out' type shops. Customers could wander in, browse around and wander out again. Often there was more than one customer present and only one server present. By the time the server got to the customers, they had already looked at things and were ready to express their needs.

5 Lexical cohesion in the service encounter texts

This chapter is addressed to LEXICAL COHESION and specifically to the question of whether LEXICAL COHESION structures on the discourse stratum in any way reflect the generic structure realization in the service encounter texts. A short introduction presents LEXICAL COHESION as a system. Then the LEXICAL COHESION structures will be discussed.

5.1 LEXICAL STUDIES

The interest in lexical studies in systemics goes back to Firth's interest in collational relations in texts, i.e. how words keep company with each other and thus 'make meaning' (Firth 1957b/68: 179). Collocation is a study of lexical structures on the lexicogrammatical stratum. Lexical items are studied in their immediate, mutual expectancy context by looking at what occurs syntagmatically on either side (in a 'span') of the lexical term (the 'node'), whose collocations are studied. Thus, if the node is *night*, one of its collocates is likely to be *dark* (Firth 1951b/57: 196).

Firth's views have led to two kinds of interest in lexical studies. On the one hand, one is interested in statistically establishing the probabilities of co-occurrences of lexical items, i.e. lexical sets in texts. Specifically, Halliday (1966), Sinclair (1966) and Sinclair *et al.* (1970) have developed this line of study of lexis. The study of statistically-based collocational probabilities in natural texts ultimately aims at a linguistically-based thesaurus of a language. On the other hand, one is interested in establishing how lexis, especially through cohesion, creates generic and registerial unity in texts (see Ure 1971; Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1980, 1980/85; Hasan 1984a; Martin & Rothery 1980, 1981; Martin in press).

The study of cohesion as a unity-creating 'device' in texts has been started by Halliday & Hasan (1976), who suggest cohesion as a kind of measure of the texture of a text. If the lexical items in a text can be related to preceding or to following items through cohesive relationships, the text is seen more closely 'knit together', more cohesive, than a text where such relationships do not exist. Halliday & Hasan (1976) recognize five types of relationships which give a text cohesiveness (unity as a text) by relating its lexical items to one another: (a) general word (*think* = *book*); (b) repetition (*book* = *book*); (c) synonym (*volume* = *book*); (d) near-synonym (*booklet* = *book*); and (e) superordinate (*flower* = *tulip*). These five types of relationship are collectively labelled reiteration. In addition to reiteration, collocational cohesion also creates

cohesion in texts. Here collocation is not defined in terms of a node and its span, but is seen as an associative meaning relationship between regularly co-occurring lexical items in the text (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 284).

How are reiteration and collocational cohesion seen to function in texts? Generally expressed, lexical cohesion 'guarantees' that our discourse does not aimlessly wander from one discourse topic to another (except perhaps in casual conversations where the conversational rules for topic shifts are relaxed considerably, see Ventola (1979), or in schizophrenic speech, see Rochester & Martin (1979)). Lexical cohesion gives a text 'a certain consistency of topic and predictability of development' (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 288). As the text unfolds, what has preceded provides a context for the later lexical items. As Firth (1935/57: 31-2) put it, 'The moment a conversation is started, whatever is said is a determining condition for what, in any reasonable expectation, may follow'.

Halliday & Hasan show how a text is built to be a cohesive unit of discourse. They emphasize (1976: 289) the 'instantial' meaning which lexis creates in a text and which makes texts unique. But they also envisage that texts must be seen in relation to the generalized situation type—the context of situation. Any passage is a text, if it portrays 'consistency of register' (register is constituted by those linguistic features which can be associated with a 'configuration of situational features', i.e. particular values of Field, Mode and Tenor) (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 23).

In Halliday & Hasan (1976) the interest is in the former aspect, in the elaboration of cohesive systems. Less attention is paid to the role cohesion plays in the classification of types of texts and it is here that the connotative semiotics framework will pick up and continue the work on LEXICAL COHESION.

5.2 LEXICAL COHESION: SYSTEM

Once it is known what kind of cohesive devices are generally used to construct texts, then a hypothesis for text typology can be set up: texts which use the same 'cohesive building materials' can be recognized as texts of the same type on the basis of the cohesive relations which give the texts the same kind of unity. Texts with similar lexical patterns are texts which are of the same type (genre, register). But how is this similarity in lexical cohesive patterns realized? Is the global unity of texts reflected by lexical similarities? Can lexical relations in texts reflect higher-level semiotic choices and thus the culture of a society? What will be proposed below is that the study of lexical relations in texts is not only interesting because it can be determined how well-constructed, cohesive texts are, but also because the patterns of cohesion reveal something about the semiotic organization of the texts. Lexical cohesion is considered here to portray generic choices as well as register choices in texts. The analyses that will be presented in this chapter are based on Martin's (1981c) and Martin & Rothery's (1980, 1981) work on capturing how lexical cohesion realizes register choices, and specifically FIELD choices,

in texts.¹ LEXICAL COHESION analyses will be used in this study to see whether lexical patterning also reflects realized generic structures in service encounter texts. The argumentation outlined above presupposes familiarity with LEXICAL COHESION as a system and as a structure.

As a text unfolds from a generic element to another, the FIELD orientations in elements are hypothesized to be realized on the discourse stratum by lexical structures generated by the choices from the LEXICAL COHESION system network, presented in Figure 5.1 (based on Martin 1981c, in press). Such lexical structures are dependency structures rather than constituency structures. The lexical relations captured by the network are relatively straightforward. The pairs of lexical items in parentheses (following the most delicate features of the network) are presented as examples to illustrate the meaning relations generated by the network. It is therefore not considered necessary to go through the systems in the network in detail. A few examples will illustrate the principle. For instance, the lexical items *flower* and *tulip* would be related in a text through the selection of the following features: [taxonomic: superordination: inclusion: hyponymy]. This means that although *flower* and *tulip* belong to the same class of items, the meaning relationship between the two items is so organized that one of the items is superordinate to the other. In this relationship of superordination *flower* and *tulip* are hyponyms, where the meaning of *tulip* implies that it is some kind of a *flower*, but a *flower* need not be a *tulip*. In the case of co-hyponymy, *tulip* and *rose* imply the same kind of relationship, namely that they both are kinds of *flowers*.

No speaker is expected to master all the possible lexical taxonomic and non-taxonomic relations in a language. 'Speaking a language involves a mastery of next to all its closed systems but only those open systems that are relevant to the experience of the speaker' (Martin 1981c: 8). Lexical theories may best be developed when this factor is taken into account. It means that lexis has to be related systematically to the higher semiotic planes. The lexical analyses that will be presented in the next section will attempt to clarify the realizational relationship between the generic elements and the lexical items in service encounter texts.

5.3 LEXICAL COHESION: STRUCTURE

How then are lexical relations manifested in texts? How are the FIELD choices kept track of as the text unfolds in generic structures? As pointed out earlier, LEXICAL COHESION systems generate dependency structures. A cohesive relationship is established between one lexical item and another (whether they are adjacent or several clauses apart). The closer the items, the stronger the cohesive relationship. The dependency relationships between cohesive lexical items can be captured by lexical strings. In the analyses reported below, a principle where each lexical item is taken 'back once to the nearest preceding lexically cohesive item regardless of distance' will be adopted as an analytical principle for capturing the lexical dependency relationships when they are realized as lexical structures in texts (Martin 1981c: 13; see also Halliday & Hasan 1976).

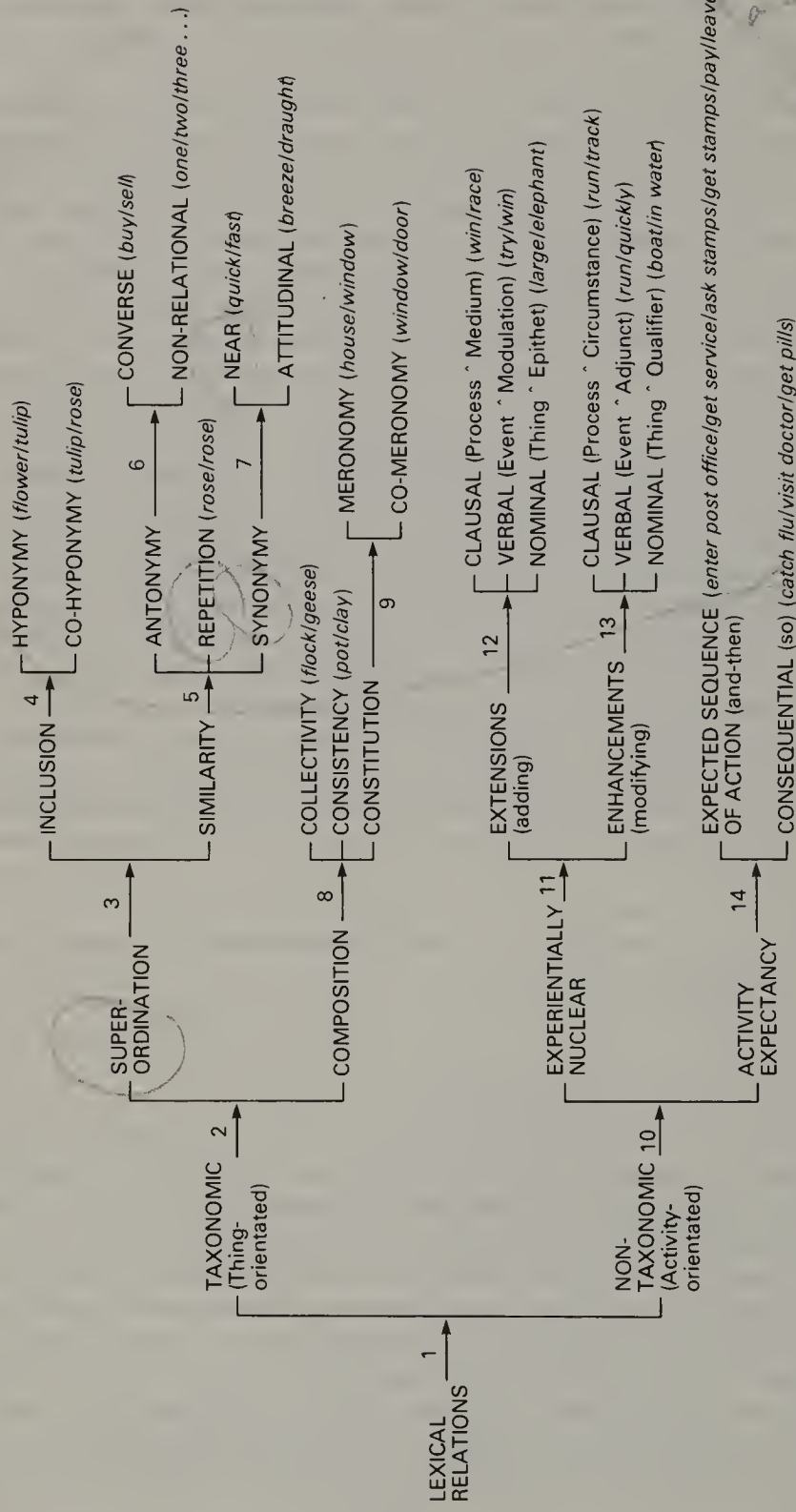


Figure 5.1 LEXICAL COHESION (based on Martin 1981c, in press)

Relating the lexical item back to the preceding item enables one to form lexical strings which run throughout a text.² An example of such a lexical string analysis of an extract from Text 11 is provided in Figure 5.2.

As Figure 5.2 shows, not all of the lexical items in the text enter into lexical strings. But those items which do, represent the predictable occurrence of items which imply a particular choice of FIELD, that of 'travel'. The possible FIELD system choices which these strings realize are proposed in Figure 5.3.

It is relatively straightforward to analyse and discover the lexical structure in one text and to show how it realizes the selected FIELD choices in the text. But even though the texts would be realizing the same FIELD selections, their lexical structures vary. The same lexical items will not be used in all the texts realizing the same FIELD choice(s). For example, in a souvenir/gift shop we may discuss mobiles, as in Text 5, or wallets, as in Texts 6 and 8, or strings of pearls, as in Text 7. How can it be stated that the lexis in the shop texts reflects the same FIELD? One way to approach this question would be to look for the kind of relationships presented in the LEXICAL COHESION network in Figure 5.1. But taxonomic/non-taxonomic relations can be found in all texts, irrespective of the realized FIELD. So to think of the texts only generally, in terms of types of lexical relations, will not be very productive. But if one approaches the lexical taxonomies from the perspective of underlying semiotics, thinking of what it is in terms of genre and register between which these relationships exist, one may get close to understanding how, for example, two post office texts can have different lexical items in them, but which still realize exactly the same FIELD selection. FIELD taxonomies, thus, give texts the 'scope' of realization.

The work of describing registers as semiotic potentials, as FIELD, MODE and TENOR choices mapped out in system networks is only starting and therefore the partial FIELD networks presented in this study should be considered very tentative descriptions of the FIELD selections. The given FIELD networks are meant to capture how the lexis in the texts in the Appendix realizes the particular FIELD selections.

If the theory outlined above is correct, it should be possible, for example by looking at the four post office texts in the Appendix, to establish what is common to these texts in terms of activity and object orientation of the FIELD 'postal matters'. The four PO-texts will be examined below from the point of view of how the lexis in these texts is realized as structure (i.e. as lexical strings) and what the cohesive strengths of the strings are. The main object of the following discussion is to illustrate whether or not lexical structures indicate the similarity of the texts in terms of activity and object orientation of FIELD. The analyses of the four texts are presented as Figures 5.4–5.7.

The lexical strings which realize taxonomic and non-taxonomic relations in the four PO-texts in the data have each been semantically labelled. The analyses show that the lexical strings in the texts share some similar features. For example, the items which appear in the strings labelled 'items to be bought' (*jiffy bag, first-day-covers, parcel, etc.*) could only occur in the PO-texts and not in the SH- or the TA-texts. In the same way, the 'rates' string seems to occur in all the analysed texts and the items in these strings greatly resemble

'section of day'	'destination'	'transport activities'	'transport'
MIDDAY(4) meronymy SECTION(9) mer. MORNING(9) co.mer. AFTERNOON(9)	SYDNEY(4) co- hyp. CANNBERRA(14) co-hyp. SYDNEY(14) hyp. INTERSTATE(18a) hyp. BRISBANE(18c)	GO(4) hyp. OPERATE(8) hyp. LEAVE(9) hyp. OPERATE(12) synonymy CARRY(13) hyp. GO(18a) hyp. CARRY(18b) hyp. GO(18c)	BUSES(4) ANSETT(6) co-hyp. PIONEER(6) instantial 7:30(9) co-hyp. 5:30(9) GREYHOUND(12) non-tax:nuclear TRAFFIC-RIGHTS(14)
Text 11: SERVICE I			
4	C:	are there buses that go to Sydney uh . . . about midday	
5	S:	no	
6		there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer	
7		they have the uh main . . . control	
8		they're the only ones that operate . . .	
9		and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at	
10	C:	5:30 in the afternoon	
11	S:	uhuh	
12		yeah . . .	
13		Greyhound do operate	
14		but they can't carry you	
15	C:	they've no traffic rights Canberra Sydney	
16	S:	yeah	
17	S:	I see	
18a		it's only if you're going interstate	
18b		then *they can they could carry you	
19	C:	*uhuh	
18c	S:	if you're going through to Brisbane	

Figure 5.2 LEXICAL COHESION: structure for SERVICE I in Text 11

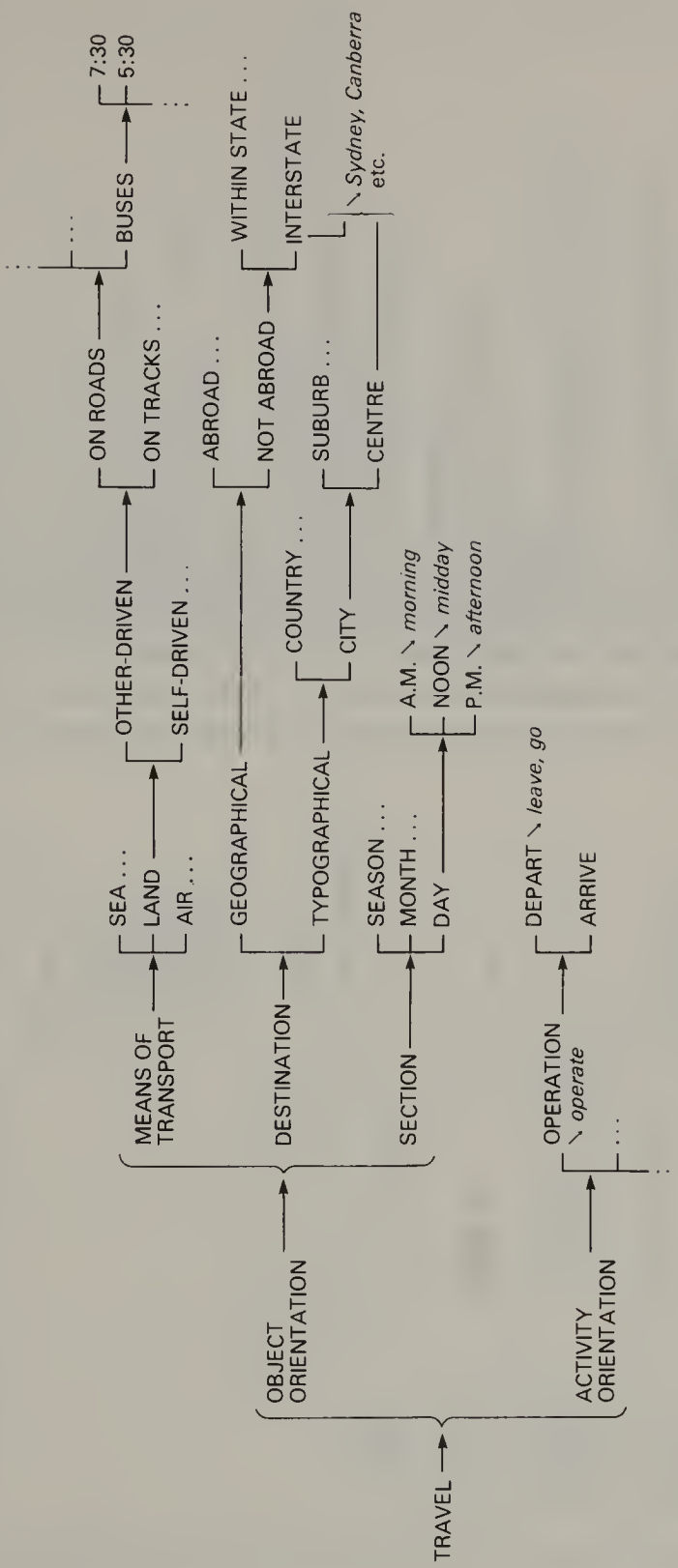


Figure 5.3 Text-specific choices of the FIELD 'travel' on the register plane

'quantity'	'items to be bought'	'rates'	Text 1 (post office)
TWO(2) ant. ONE(4) rep. ONE(5) ant. FOUR(9) ant. TWO(10) rep. TWO(12) rep. TWO(13)	FIRST-DAY-COVERS(6) non-tax: Carrier * Attribute DESIGNS(12)	FORTY-FIVE(4) ant. TWENTY-FIVE(5) ant. DOLLAR-SEVENTY(16) rep. DOLLAR-SEVENTY(20) ant. TWO(20) ant. FOUR(20) ant. ONE(20) ant. FIVE(20)	1 S: yes please [C steps forward] 2 C: can I have these two like that [hands over two letters] 3 S: yes 4 S: [3 secs—S weighs one letter] 5 S: [3 secs—S weighs the other letter] 6 C: have you got ... the ... first day covers of ... 7 S: yes 8 C: (Anzac) 9 S: [2 secs] 10 S: how many would you like 11 C: four please 12 S: two of each, 13 C: what have you got 14 S: there's two different designs on the 15 S: [5 secs—S shows the covers to C] 16 C: I'll take two of each 17 S: uhuh 18 S: [6 secs—S gets the stamps and the covers] 19 S: right ... 20 that's a dollar seventy thank you 21 [10 secs—S puts the covers into a bag: C gets out the money] 22 S: here we are 23 [2 secs—S hands over the goods; C hands over the money] 24 C: *thank you 25 S: *thank you 26 S: [5 secs—S gets the change] 27 dollar seventy that's two four and one's five 28 C: *thank you very much 29 S: *thank you 30 [2 secs—C reaches for the letters] 31 S: they'll be right 32 I'll fix those up in a moment 33 C: okay 34 [C leaves]

Figure 5.4 LEXICAL COHESION: structure in Text 1

'movement' 'destination' 'rates'	'methods of mailing'	'indexical activities' be bought'	'time'	Text 3 (post office)
GO(6) non-tax. GET(9) non-tax. GO(10) rep. GO(14) rep. GO(14) ADELAIDE(7) non-tax. ADELAIDE(10) mer. BAROSSA VALLEY(11) mer. ADELAIDE(14) mer. BAROSSA(14) EIGHTY-CENTS(8) ant. DOLLAR-TWENTY(8) ant. EIGHTY(18) ant. THIRTY-FIVE(20) ant. SIX(21) ant. EIGHT(21) ant. ONE-DOLLAR-FIFTEEN(22) ant. EIGHTY(23) ant. TWENTY-FIVE(24) ADelaide(7) non-tax. ADELAIDE(10) mer. BAROSSA VALLEY(11) mer. ADELAIDE(14) mer. BAROSSA(14) SURFACE-MAIL(8) ant. AIR-MAIL(8) ant. SURFACE-MAIL(9) rep. SURFACE-MAIL(13) hyp. WAY(14) hyp. ROAD(14) co-hyp. TRAIN(14) SEND(13) ant. MONDAY(14) ant. TUESDAY(14) BAG(20) non-tax. ADDRESS(31) non-tax POST(32) JIFFY-BAG(2) inst. THIRTY-FIVE(4)				1 S: yes please 2 C: can I have a jiffy bag for that please [hands over a packet] 3 S: uhuh [3 secs—S gets the bag] 4 S: it should fit into the thirty-five I think 5 C: oh right [2 secs—S puts the packet into the bag] 6 S: where is it going 7 C: Adelaide [3 secs—S weighs the bag] 8 S: hm that's eighty cents surface mail or a dollar twenty air mail 9 C: when will it get there by surface mail 10 S: whereabouts is it going in Adelaide 11 C: uhm Barossa Valley ✓ 12 S: uh that's outside 13 you might as well send it surface mail because it's— 14 ... it'll be there Monday ... or Tuesday ... either way ... b'cause it'll go to Adelaide and it goes up by road or by train to the *Barossa 15 C: *yeah 16 okay 17 S: okay ✓ 18 C: so it's eighty 19 S: uhuh 20 [10 secs—S gets the stamps and staples the bag; C gets out her money] 21 C: (six eight) [S hands the goods to C] 22 S: one dollar fifteen altogether thank you 23 C: there's the eighty [4 secs—C is counting her coins and giving them to S] 24 C: there's the twenty-five (laughs) 25 emptying all my—[C gives 25 cents to S] 26 S: it's all right 27 I don't care how it comes ... as long as it comes 28 C: (her ya re) [C hands over the rest of the sum] 29 S: thanks [1 sec—S counts the money and C takes the bag] 30 C: thanks very much 31 S: when you've addressed it just bring it back to me and I'll *post it for you 32 33 C: *okay

Figure 5.6 LEXICAL COHESION: structure in Text 3

'rates'	'indexical activities'	Text 4 (post office)
COST(2) non-tax. FORTY-FIVE(3) ant. FORTY CENTS(6) ant. DOLLAR TWENTY-FIVE(7) rep. ONE TWENTY-FIVE(10) DOLLAR TWENTY-FIVE(14) ant. DOLLAR THIRTY(14) ant. SIXTY(14) ant. EIGHTY(14) ant. TWO DOLLARS(14) ant. THREE(14) ant. FIVE(14) rep. FIVE(14) ant. TEN(14)	POST(2) non-tax. AIRMAIL(4) rep. POST(11)	1 S: yes please [C turns to S] 2 C: um could you tell me how much it costs to post those please [C hands over three letters] [6 secs—S weighs one of the letters] 3 S: one's forty-five [5 secs—S weighs the other letters] 4 S: air mail— air mail to Japan ✓ C: uhuh [10 secs—S looks up the price] 6 S: both forty cents each [2 secs] 7 S: it's a dollar twenty-five altogether thank you [15 secs—S gets the stamps for the letters] 8 S: there we are [S hands over the stamps] 9 C: thank you [C gives a ten-dollar note to S] 10 S: one twenty-five [said when receiving the money] 11 C: do I have to post these 12 S: I'll take care *of them 13 C: *okay [11 secs—S gets the change] 14 S: dollar twenty-five dollar thirty sixty eighty two dollars three ... five and five's ten [S gives the change to C] 15 S: thank you *very much 16 C: *thank you

Figure 5.7 LEXICAL COHESION: structure in Text 4

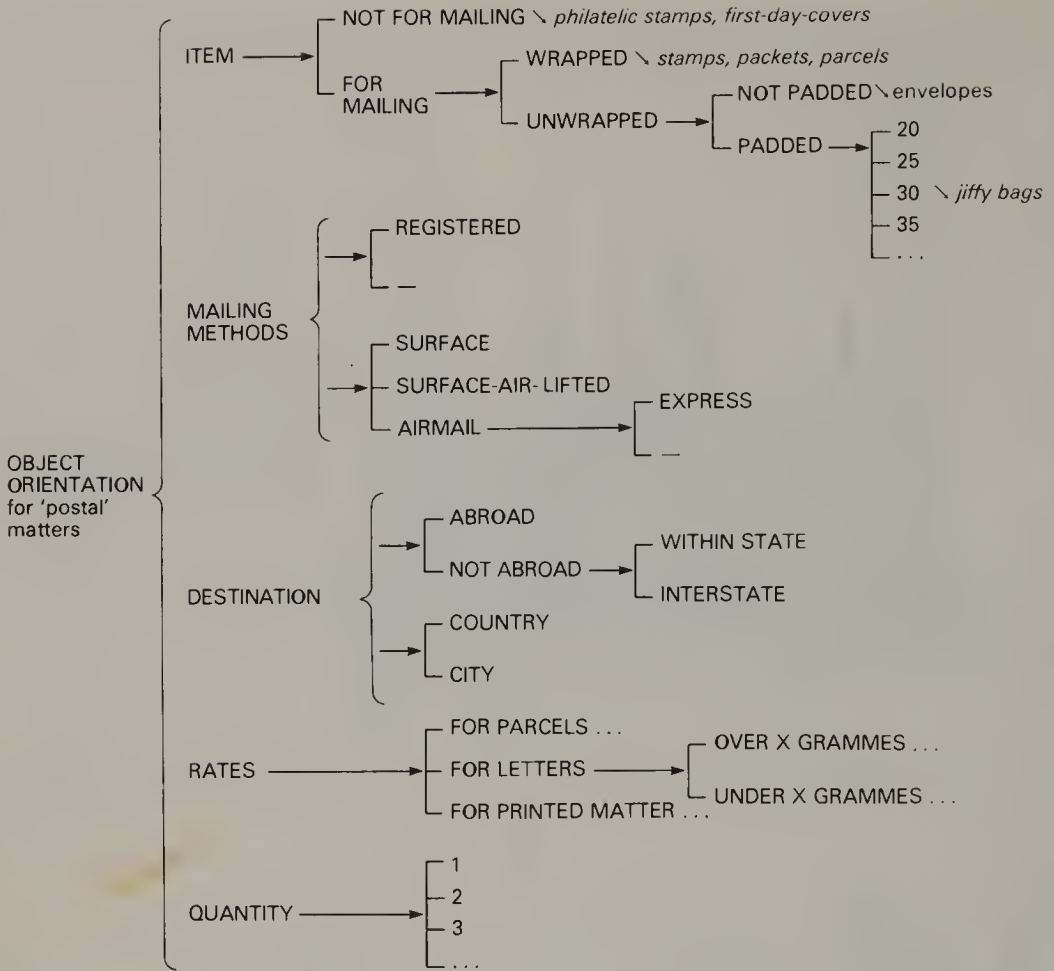


Figure 5.8 Object-orientation in the FIELD 'postal matters'

one another across the texts. On the basis of the items which occur in these lexical strings one can attempt a rough estimation of what the object orientation in the FIELD network for the FIELD 'postal matters' would look like. This is presented in Figure 5.8.

The processes in the PO-texts are very general (e.g. *take, have, go, get*, etc.). This is largely due to MODE selections. In such language-as-action situations as post office encounters the actions are contextually explicit and need not be coded by language at all, or only in general terms. No attempt will therefore be made to draw activity orientation for the FIELD 'postal matters'. Another reason for coding actions by general processes in PO-texts may be the stereotyped, routine character of these service encounters. Few indexical processes, such as *post, send, address* are needed, because the social process and its ongoing development is so obvious to all participants.

There are lexical strings in these PO-texts which specifically indicate that the texts realize the FIELD 'postal matters'. These indexical lexical strings are usually realized at the point in the texts where the items to be purchased are

negotiated. Also, certain types of activity strings and 'methods of mailing' strings are typical of post office texts. A further string which seems to appear in all the texts is that of 'rates'. This string has, however, been realized in all the service encounter texts where items have actually been bought (see also Texts 5 and 11 in Chapter 8). It must consequently be considered a generic structure realization rather than a realization of the FIELD 'postal matters'. Thus, some lexical strings seem to realize the choices made on the genre rather than the register plane (see the discussion in the next section).

When the analyses of these post office texts are examined closely, it is apparent that the lexical items in the strings form groups. In other words, at certain stages of interaction the lexical density of the items within the strings seems to increase. This observation leads to the question: do lexical strings and their items also indicate the generic structures of the texts? A search for an answer to this question will come next.

5.4 LEXICAL COHESION AND GENRE

What is hypothesized about the relationship between LEXICAL COHESION and GENRE? LEXICAL COHESION is a reflection of the unfolding generic structure (social process). LEXICAL COHESION structures reflect the FIELD choices in texts and particular FIELD selections seem to be activated, as the social process unfolds from stage to stage, or element to element. Such FIELD selection realizations in the texts function as indicators of generic structures in texts.³ Martin & Rothery (1980) have indicated how lexical cohesion patterns change in the unfolding of narrative and expository texts. In these genres certain lexical strings in a text can be related to certain generic/schematic structure elements of the text. There are also, however, lexical strings which extend over whole texts (for detailed discussion and analyses, see Martin & Rothery 1980, 1981). But does lexical cohesion in spoken texts also pattern in the same way? Can one expect the lexical patterning in service encounter texts to show the progression of the social process?

Naturally, texts of spoken genres differ from those of written genres. Firstly, they are products of interaction between at least two interactants, whereas in written genres only one person is responsible for the text. Secondly, social interaction is also realized by other semiotic codes besides language. Consequently, lexical patterning is not expected to be as 'pronounced' or 'highlighted' in spoken interactive texts as it is, for example, in verbal art (written texts are lexically denser than spoken texts; for details, see Ure 1971).

At first, lexical cohesion relationships in lexical strings do not appear to give any clear indication of the realization of the generic structure of a text. The main reason for this is that PO-texts as social activity seem to select the 'language-as-action' options of MODE rather than the 'language-as-reflection' options, with the consequence that many of the lexical items which in written/language-as-reflection MODE would capture the unfolding of social activities in texts are not realized in texts when the MODE selection is spoken/language-as-action. The social activity in the PO has become so routine that

the language has acquired an ancillary role in these situations. Language seems to be required mainly for requesting service and for requesting payment of goods. It is both these elements, S and P, which are probably most clearly reflected in the lexical patternings of the PO-texts.

In Text 1 the following generic structure emerges:

<i>Elements</i>	<i>Lines in text:</i>
AA	1 + NV
SI	2–5 + NV
SII	6–14 + NV
	15 (Frame, see Chapter 7)
P	16 + NV + 19–20
GH	NV + 17
CL	21–22
POSTING	23–25

The lexical strings seem to provide little evidence for the elements AA, GH and CL. This is hardly surprising. AA and CL are so short and stereotyped that lexical cohesion can hardly play a role in the element realization. GH is realized non-verbally, so again lexis does not play a major role. POSTING could be expected to be realizing the FIELD 'postal matters' explicitly, but this is not the case in Text 1 (but cf. Text 3). This leaves one to consider the role lexical strings play in the realization of the elements SI, SII and P.

The lexical items, *two* and *one* in the 'quantity' string and *forty-five* and *twenty-five* in the 'rates' string appear on lines where SI is realized. The Need in SI is realized exophorically—*these [two letters]*. After SI has been realized, there is a gap in the above-mentioned strings (*four* on line 9, following *one* on line 5 in the 'quantity' string, and *dollar-seventy* on line 16, following *twenty-five* on line 5). This seems to indicate that, after the Need and the Compliance of SI, the lexical density in these strings falls. The cause for this is that SII follows—the negotiation about the goods in SII has begun. A new lexical string begins with the item *first-day-covers*. This is indexical of the FIELD 'postal matters'. The items *four-two-two-two* start to appear again in the 'quantity' string. The element SERVICE is recognized by the lexical items which are realized in the lexical strings: when expressing his Need, *C* needs to tell *S* what the items are he wants to buy and also the quantity. So one can expect that lexical items realizing the items of Need will appear in texts more frequently in the Need parts than, for example, in the Compliance parts of the element S. Usually once the item to be bought has been established by an indexical lexical item, indicating FIELD realization, the system of REFERENCE takes over. The lexical items in the 'rates' string may be expected to concentrate on the Compliance part of the S-element (and on the P-element, as will be seen later). The 'quantity' string covers both the Need and the Compliance in SI and SII; that is, the items group according to SI and SII. The lexical density of the items in the string is concentrated on lines (2–5) and (9–13). When one combines the exchange structure analysis with the lexical cohesion analysis, it is seen that these lines form the nuclear exchange in the S element.

A further indication of lexical strings providing information about the relationship between the generic structure elements and LEXICAL COHESION is the fact that both the 'quantity' and the 'items to be bought' strings end when SI and SII end. A different type of lexis takes over after the S-elements have been realized. The 'rates' string begins. The lexical density of the items in this string increases again considerably. This increase corresponds to the realization of the element PAY. Note also that the string ends at the boundary between P and CL.

Can similar observations about the correspondences of lexical strings, the density of the strings and the realization of the generic structure elements be made from the other three PO-texts?

The structure of Text 2 can be seen as:

<i>Elements</i>	<i>Lines in text</i>
AA	1 + NV
S	2-31 + NV
GH	NV + 32-33
P	34 + NV + 35
CL	36-37

What has been said above about the lexical string 'items to be bought' for Text 1 also applies for *S* of Text 2. *C* presents his Need and the lexical string starts with an indexical item *padded-postal-bag* (this is taken as one lexical item; cohesion within the nominal group is thus not being treated here, although naturally one could do so; however, it is seen to contribute so little extra information on lexical cohesion that it is considered unnecessary). The Need has to be negotiated, since it has not been specific enough and this is done by several kinds of jiffy-bags offered by *C* to *S*. These lexical items, which express the different types of jiffy-bag stand in a relationship of co-hyponymy to one another, but in an instantial relationship to *bag*. As the price of the bag is already apparent in the Need, it is no longer necessary to realize it explicitly in *P*. Thus, unlike in Text 1, *P* cannot be identified by a lexical string. But since it can be related to the lexical string of 'rates' in three out of four texts, it is justified to assume that the unmarked realization of *P* is that its realization by the increased lexical density in the lexical string 'rates'.

In Text 3 the following generic structure emerges:

<i>Elements</i>	<i>Lines in text</i>
AA	1 + NV
SI	2-5 + NV
SII	6-16 + NV
	17 (Frame)
p	18 + 29 + NV
GH	NV
CL	30
POSTING	31-33

Again on SI an indexical *jiffy-bag* appears in *C*'s Need. In SII the Need has been implicit and it has to be specified—*S* assumes that *C* wants to mail the article for which *C* bought the jiffy-bag, but *S* does not know the destination. So there are several lexical strings indicating how the Specifications of Need are achieved, 'movement' (of mail), 'destination' and 'methods of mailing'. All these lexical strings are restricted to the boundaries of SII, appearing in (6–14). The element P is again recognized by the high frequency of lexical items referring to money (18–24).

In Text 4 the generic structure can be stated as:

<i>Elements</i>	<i>Lines in text.</i>
AA	1 + NV
S	2–6 + NV
p	7 + NV + 10 + 14 + NV
GH	8 + NV + 9
POSTING	11–13
CL	15–16

The actual items to be posted in Text 4 are coded exophorically (*those*). But there are in the S element lexical items which indicate that the FIELD 'postal matters' is realized, namely *post* (2) and *airmail* (4), both of which appear in the Need part of S rather than in the Compliance. The major string in this text is, however, the string of 'rates'. This string runs through the elements of S and P. Therefore one could say that the 'rates' string does not very well indicate the boundary of these generic structure elements. But if one considers the high frequency with which the items appear in this string, one can see how the items are concentrated in the P element. More importantly, the items are arranged so that the value expressed by the lexical items increases from the cost of the goods purchased, *one-twenty-five*, to the denomination of the note proffered by *C* in payment for the goods, *ten dollars*.

To summarize, certain conclusions can be drawn about generic structures realized in the PO-texts on the basis of how the lexical items realize lexical structures in these texts. The lexical strings in these PO-texts clearly reflect the realization of the elements SERVICE and PAY. It seems, however, that the relationship between lexis and generic structures is not very clearly projected in the PO-texts. As mentioned earlier, this may be due to the fact that the social process realized in such situation types has become stereotyped and routinized to a degree where language simply plays an ancillary role and a lot of the action is realized by other semiotic codes besides language.

One way, however, which in the future studies may be considered to strengthen the lexical structure analyses is lexical rendering, but this has not been followed in this study. Lexical items which are realized by reference and substitution items would actually be included in the lexical strings. Hasan (1984a; Halliday & Hasan 1980, 1980/85) has followed this principle when developing ways of looking at 'cohesive harmony' in texts, i.e. methods of measuring the cohesiveness/texture of texts. Cohesiveness is measured by the interaction of central tokens in identity and similarity chains which also

include all those lexical items which are coded in language through reference, substitution and ellipsis. Hasan's work on cohesive harmony has not specifically been related to her work on generic structure potentials of service encounter texts (the texts analysed for cohesive harmony are reproductions of stories), but the type of analyses Hasan suggests may, however, prove enlightening from the point of view of generic structures. In this study it has not been possible to test whether the methods used for measuring cohesive harmony of texts can also project the generic structures of the analysed service encounter texts. But certainly in future analyses of lexical patterns of texts cohesive harmony and its potential for indicating generic structure realizations must also be investigated.

In general, one can conclude that methods have to be developed which not only capture object-orientated taxonomic relations, but also capture, better than at present, activity-orientated non-taxonomic relations in texts. As laymen we are more used to classifying things rather than activities and taxonomic relations seem to stand out in texts more clearly than activity-orientated lexical relations. Part of the difficulty in recognizing activity-orientated lexical relations is that they frequently 'co-operate' with taxonomic relations in texts. Let us take as an example [extension]s (see Figure 5.1), which have the function of adding something to the meaning of the Head, whether it be a Process, an Event, or a Thing. In the clause *He won the race*, the Medium *the race* is added to the Process *to win*. In these [experientially nuclear] relations part of the meaning of a text, as a realization of a particular genre and of a particular register, is captured by the syntagmatic structures of lexis (i.e. by items which we expect to co-occur syntagmatically in each other's company). Thus the relations which realize [activity expectancy] are equally helpful in recognizing activities in texts, as are the object-orientated relations of lexis. Such lexical relations seem not only to capture a single event but rather a sequence of events. In the following two text extracts the lexical items express the [activity expectancy] relations in banking:

Example 1 (additional data):

S: I tell you what your best bet is go over to the bank

C: *yes

S: *and ask them for a bankdraft **for that much

C: **yeah

S: and then you pay them the money they'll give you the bankdraft and you can put it in the letter

Example 2 (additional data):

S: you ask them for a bank cheque and they'll give it to you and you put it into an envelope and seal it

To capture the lexical relations in the text extracts, it is best to refer to participants by the respective lexical items, not by the reference items. Such lexical rendering gives the following activity-based banking sequences for Examples 1 and 2.

Example 1

customer	—	go	—				bank
customer	—	ask	—	servers	—	bankdraft	
customer	—	pay	—	servers	—	money	
servers	—	give	—	customer	—	bankdraft	
customer	—	put	—			bankdraft	— letter

Example 2

customer	—	ask	—	servers	—	bank cheque	
servers	—	give	—	customer	—	bank cheque	
customer	—	put	—			bank cheque	— envelope
customer	—	seal	—				envelope

Both these extracts have been recorded in post offices. Their lexis indicates a momentary shift to the FIELD of 'banking'. This is caused by *S* explaining to *C* the best procedure for sending money overseas. But since *S* advises *C* to use bankdrafts/cheques, *S* also needs to 'borrow' the whole lexis of 'banking', the [activity expectancy] relations involved in another FIELD. The borrowed lexis and its organization also reflects the generic organization of the sub-genre 'banking' service encounters. First the customer enters the location, then he asks the servers for a bankdraft/cheque, and so on (see also Martin in press; Stubbs 1983: 28, 32).

As indicated in this chapter, lexical strings reflect generic organizations in texts, but undeniably methodology for analysing how activity sequences are realized by LEXICAL COHESION in texts when the generic structures of texts unfold need improvement and elaboration so that the realizational links between LEXICAL COHESION structure on the discourse stratum and the generic structures on the GENRE plane can best be captured.

NOTES

1. The work in this area has progressed, since the completion of the analyses in this study. Here one must mention specifically the work of Martin (in press). Also Hasan's work (Halliday & Hasan 1980, 1980/85; Hasan 1984a) should be mentioned here, although the goals and principles of Hasan's analyses differ slightly from those set up within a connotative semiotics framework. However, Hasan's approach may also prove very enlightening for the present pursuits of the study.
2. Martin (1981c) has suggested some useful tests to apply when the lexical items are so distant either semantically or physically that their cohesive relation is in doubt. To find out whether *mosquito* is still a hyponymy of *animal*, as it is of *insect* can be tested by REFERENCE: if a sub-class item is cohesive with a superordinate term, the latter will take a definite reference item: *a mosquito—the insect*—but not *the animal*. With meronymy, bridging can be used as a criterion: lexical items expressing the part/whole relationship can be referred to as if 'given', e.g. *a house—the door, the roof*, etc.
3. There are of course texts where the FIELD is exophorically realized (e.g. *how much would that be? can I have two of those please?*) The FIELD is recovered by lexical rendering, i.e. replacing the reference items with the relevant lexical items of objects, etc.

6 Reference in the service encounter texts

This chapter will discuss the systems and structures of REFERENCE and see how they are realized in service encounter texts. In written texts REFERENCE system choices realize participant identification and REFERENCE structures reflect the unity of a text by keeping track of the relevant participants in a text. By participant identification is meant 'the strategies languages use to get people, places and things into a text and refer to them once there' (Martin forthcoming: 59). The way in which these strategies are used in service encounter texts will be explored below. Further, the question of whether reference structures can in any way be expected to function as projections of the generic structures of service encounter texts will be studied.

6.1 REFERENCE—WHAT DOES IT DO IN TEXTS?

REFERENCE is a cohesive system, whereby an interpretation of a linguistic item is established by relating the item to something else (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 31). What the interpretation of a reference item is must be established by searching for its identity in the text. Once the identity of an item has been retrieved, the link between the identity and the item becomes cohesive and text-creating. But from where does one retrieve identities of reference items?

The identity of a reference item can be retrieved from the text itself. In a fairy tale, which starts *Once upon a time there was a giant. He was always hungry*, the reference item *a* signals to the listeners that the participant *giant* is mentioned for the first time. This is an example of how new participants are introduced into a text by presenting reference (Martin 1983b, forthcoming). In contrast to presenting reference, the reference item *he* in *presuming reference* tells the listeners that the identity of this participant is known to them, but its identity has to be retrieved (Martin 1983b, forthcoming). This can be done in the example above from the verbal context by relating *he* BACK to *a giant*, which functions as a source for interpretation. *He*, then is an example of endophoric, more precisely anaphoric, retrieval (Halliday & Hasan 1976; Martin 1983b, forthcoming). Another type of retrieval procedure is cataphoric, where the identity of an item is searched from something which lies ahead in the verbal context (Halliday & Hasan 1976; Martin 1983b, forthcoming). In *this is a warning: smoking can be a health hazard*, the identity of *this* is found by looking FORWARD to the warning itself.

But the identities of reference items cannot always be found in the verbal contexts of texts. Imagine yourself entering a room where there are two

interactants, *A* and *B*. You hear *A* say to *B*: *Pick it up, please!* Here the identity of *it* cannot be retrieved from the preceding text, because there either has been no preceding text or at least you have not heard it. The identity of *it* can only be retrieved by relating the item to the extralinguistic context of the situation which you and both *A* and *B* are experiencing. The reference retrieval between *it* and to what it refers is achieved exophorically.

The distinction between presuming and presenting, endophoric and exophoric reference would for the major part be sufficient for the study of participant identification in service encounters. There are, however, a few other ways of retrieving the identities of participants which occasionally play a part in service encounter texts. These are homophora, esphora and bridging (for details, see Halliday & Hasan 1976; Martin 1983b, forthcoming). Homophoric retrieval indicates that the participant is known to all members of the culture or subculture. *The sun* is an example of homophoric retrieval where the identity of the participant is known to all speakers of English, whereas *the boss* is an example of homophora in a subculture. Esphora is a retrieval procedure within a nominal group. In *there's the cockroach I killed*, the identity of *the* (cockroach) is retrieved esphorically from the Qualifier *I killed* following the Thing. Had the previous utterance continued by *look at the feelers*, the identity of *the* (feelers) would have been retrieved by a bridging relation from *the* (cockroach), the feelers being a part of the cockroach (for further examples and discussion, see Martin 1983b, forthcoming).

The various ways in which the identities of reference items in a text are retrieved is summarized by the RETRIEVAL network presented by Martin in Figure 6.1.

The MODE selections in service encounter texts involve 'language-as-action' choices. Consequently, it can be expected that many of the retrieval sources for participant identities are not found in the text but rather outside the texts in the actual extralinguistic situations (exophoric retrieval). Since the identities are in the majority established exophorically (language is not needed to track participants), the endophoric 'tracking of participants' (REFERENCE structures) is not expected to be of the same nature in service encounter texts as in those genres where the MODE selections involve 'language-as-reflection' choices. Thus the evidence which the REFERENCE structures can provide for the realization of generic structures in service encounter texts is expected to be only partial. Nevertheless, the search for a realizational relationship between the GENRE plane and the structures generated by the REFERENCE system choices will begin below by first presenting the REFERENCE system choices and by discussing the reference structures realized in service encounter texts.

6.2 REFERENCE: SYSTEM

A distinction has been made between presenting and presuming reference. But this distinction is part of a larger system of PHORICITY, which consists of all 'those systems which English speakers use to structure their utterances on the

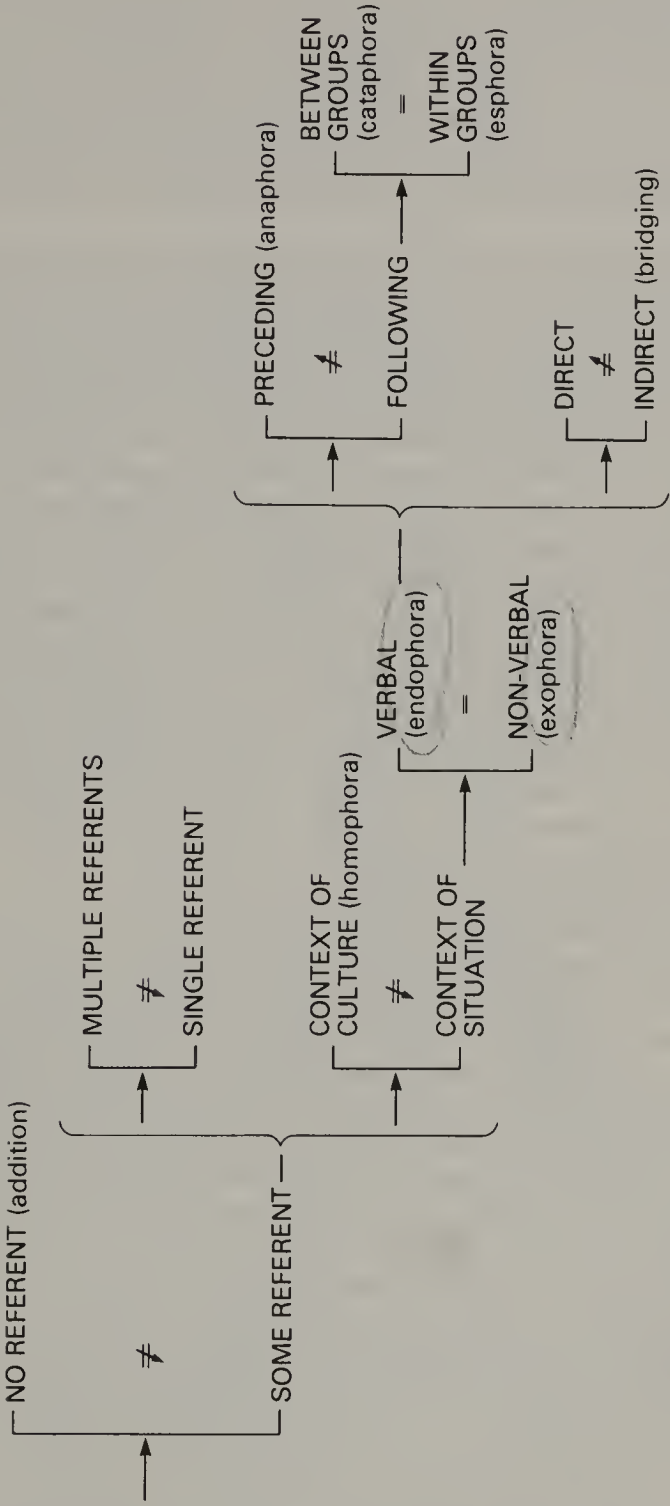


Figure 6.1 A complete RETRIEVAL network for phoric REFERENCE (Martin forthcoming: 80)

basis of what they assume their listener knows' (Martin 1981d: 1). This assumption of the knowledge that the listener has may concern participants, processes and circumstances in texts. Here only the assumptions of knowledge of participant identities are of direct interest, and the systems which realize these assumptions are those of REFERENCE and nominal SUBSTITUTION and ELLIPSIS. What will be said about phoricity systems and their realization is based on the work in Halliday & Hasan (1976, 1980, 1980/85), in Hasan (1984a) and specifically on Martin's continuation of this work (1981d, 1983b, forthcoming).

In English participants are realized by nominal groups in lexicogrammar. Every nominal group which realizes a participant codes (a) whether the listener is expected to know the identity of the participant or not (presuming/presenting) and (b) whether the listener is able to retrieve the identity either from the text or from the extralinguistic situation (endophora/exophora) (Martin 1983b: 51). In English grammar the article system, which functions in the nominal group, realizes both presenting and presuming reference. From the point of view of PHORICITY, presenting nominal groups are not phoric, whereas presuming nominal groups are phoric. For example, *a giant* in the fairy tale is not phoric, but *he* is. This kind of presuming reference is an example of REMINDING PHORICITY (Martin 1981d: 6, forthcoming: 63). Here the listener is reminded that he already knows the participant and simply has to search for its identity (either in the text or the extralinguistic context).

In addition to reminding phoricity, RELEVANCE PHORICITY is recognized (Martin forthcoming). Relevance phoricity is exemplified in *I would like a big car, but a smaller car is more practical*. Both *a* and *a smaller* introduce participants; they are not phoric in the reminding sense. But *a smaller car* is phoric by comparison (Martin forthcoming: 62). The identity of *a smaller car* can be established by a comparison with *a big car*.

A third type of phoricity is REDUNDANCY PHORICITY and is exemplified by *a brown one* in *I bought a red hat, but now I think I should have bought a brown one*. Without the surrounding text, the identity of *a brown one* would be unrecoverable, but since one can assume from the linguistic context that *one* is a substitution for *hat*, a relationship is established between *a brown one* and *a red hat*. The identity is established by a relation of experiential content and class membership (Martin forthcoming: 62-3). The nominal group *a brown one* is presenting and not phoric, except for redundancy phoricity coded in *one*. Redundancy phoricity reduces the explicit experiential content in texts (Martin forthcoming: 63) and this effect is noticeable in some of the service encounters of this study, as will be discussed later. REDUNDANCY

Reminding and relevance phoricity are realized by REFERENCE systems on the discourse stratum, whereas phoricity is realized by grammatical nominal SUBSTITUTION and ELLIPSIS, as has been illustrated. The principal phoricity type which tracks participants in texts is the reminding phoricity. Since the major interest in this study is to see how participants are coded during the unfolding of a social process in service encounters and whether such participant coding can be related to higher-level semiotic choices, it is the system of REFERENCE and the structures it generates that are the foci. In Figure 6.2 the

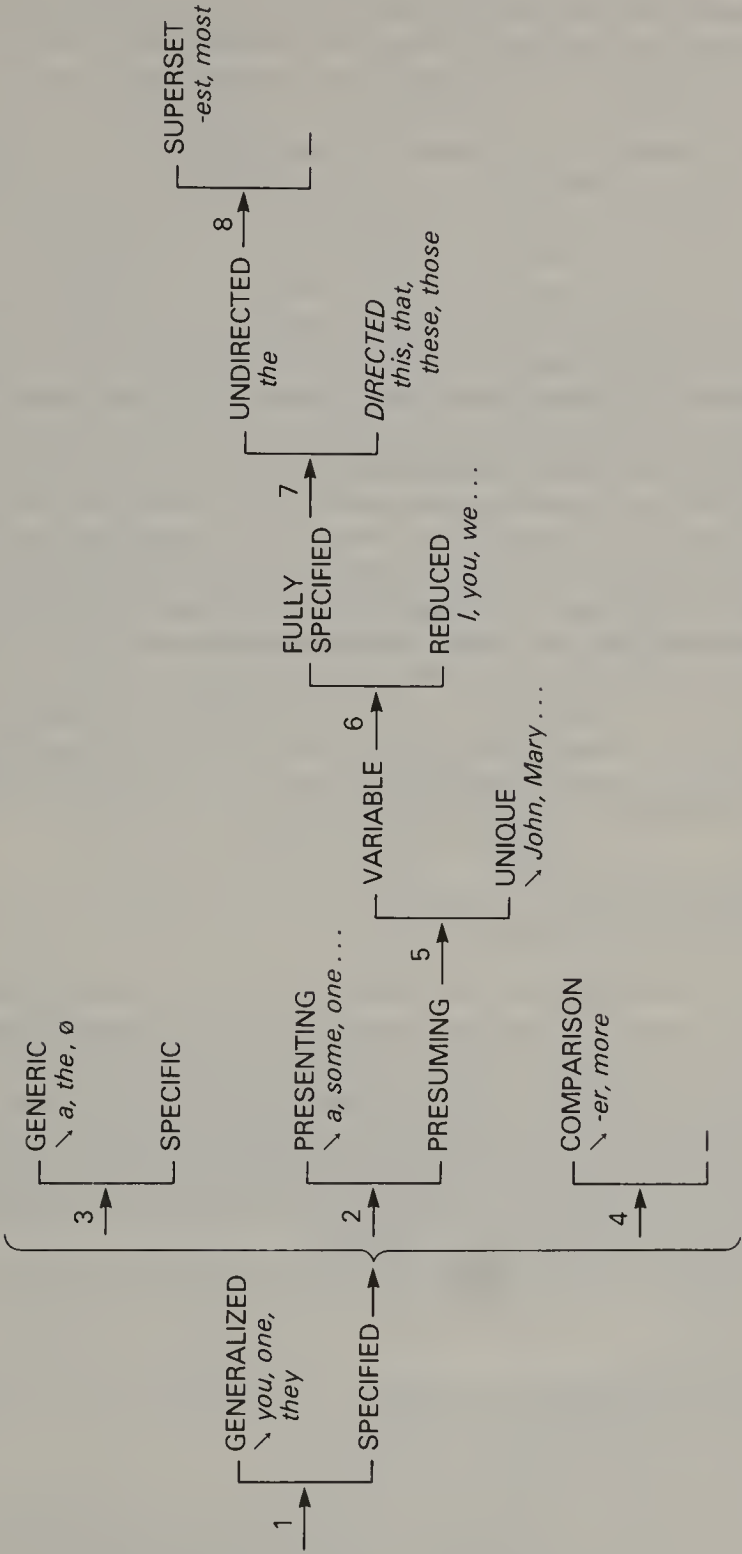


Figure 6.2 The major REFERENCE systems (adapted from Martin 1983b: 50, forthcoming: 77)

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major systems of REFERENCE in English are presented and examples realizing the choices are given (this network does not represent the most delicate choices of REFERENCE; for a full treatment, see Martin 1983b, forthcoming).

System 1 distinguishes [generalized] and [specified] reference: *THEY say cockroaches spread diseases* vs. *THE biologists at the research centre say cockroaches spread diseases*. System 2, which makes a distinction between [presenting]/[presuming] reference relationships, has already been discussed: *I just killed A cockroach in my kitchen* vs. *IT was an ugly-looking thing*. System 3 distinguishes [generic] reference, which refers to a class or to a member of a class representing a class, from [specific] reference, which identifies a particular participant in a text: *A cockroach is an insect* vs. *THIS cockroach was the most horrible creature I have ever seen*. System 5 distinguishes the presuming reference more delicately as either [unique] or [variable]: *MARY hates cockroaches* vs. *SHE hates cockroaches*. In System 6 a choice between [reduced] reference, offering minimal identification information about the participant, and [fully specified] reference is presented: *SHE hates cockroaches* vs. *THIS woman hates cockroaches*. As System 7 shows, [fully specified] reference can be either [directed] or [undirected] towards a participant: *THIS cockroach was ugly* vs. *THE cockroach was ugly*. Furthermore, a [fully specified: undirected] participant can belong to a [superset], as System 8 shows: *THE cockroach managed to crawl under the fridge* vs. *THE BIGGEST cockroach managed to crawl under the fridge*. So far the examples, when phoric, have illustrated reminding phoricity. System 4 realizes relevance phoricity: *I managed to kill THE big cockroach, but THE SMALLER creature escaped*. Now that the major REFERENCE system choices have been illustrated, attention can be turned to REFERENCE structures.

6.3 REFERENCE: STRUCTURE

3

What kind of structures do the choices from the REFERENCE systems generate? Like LEXICAL COHESION structures (lexical strings), REFERENCE structures are also dependency rather than constituency structures. They keep track of the participants by forming referential cohesive ties between the linguistic items which refer to the same participant (see Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1980; Martin & Rothery 1980, 1981; Martin forthcoming). REFERENCE structures are generated every time [presuming] [superset] and [comparison] features are selected from the network above.

Example 1 illustrates how REFERENCE system selections create discourse structures in a text:

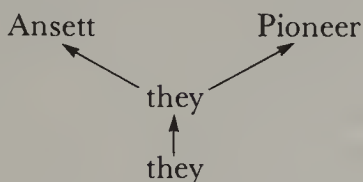
Example 1 (Text 11):

- (1) S: there's only Ansett and Pioneer
- (2) they have the uh main . . . control
- (3) they're the only ones that operate

Reminding

The principle which is used to capture reference structures in texts is that each endophoric item is taken back to the closest item which refers to the same participant. *Ansett* and *Pioneer* in (1) are presumed by *they* in (2). The

item *they* reminds the listener of the identities of both *Ansett* and *Pioneer* simultaneously. An arrow is used to point to the presumed item. The second *they* in (3) ties with the item *they* in (2). The description of the reference relationship between these items will thus be:



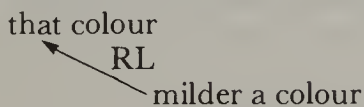
The *they* in (2) is presuming as well as being presumed. In other words, it presumes *Ansett* and *Pioneer* in (1), but is itself being presumed by the item *they* in (3). The reference structures generated by the REFERENCE systems, such as illustrated above, are called 'reference chains' (Martin forthcoming; Hasan calls similar kinds of chains 'identity chains', see Halliday & Hasan 1980, Hasan 1984a).

Reminding phoricity has been illustrated above. Example 2 demonstrates relevance phoricity, which tells the listener to retrieve the identity of the participant in the nominal group by its resemblance to another group (relevance phoricity will be marked as RL in the analyses to differentiate it from the reminding phoricity).

Example 2 (Text 7):

- (1) S: what if I could find something like that in that colour
 (2) C: I think even milder a colour¹ would do

Relevance phoricity (RL) will be coded, not in the same chain 'in descending order', but rather as a 'related' relationship, as shown below:



The coding above illustrates the fact that the two nominal groups, which realize the two kinds of phoricity, are not tracking down the same participant. The identity of *milder a colour* is established with the help of the resemblance relationship between the participant coded in *that colour*. *Milder a colour* could of course come to be presumed itself. In that case both *that colour* and *milder a colour* would track down different participants in two separate reference chains, but the two chains would be related by the relevance phoricity relationship portrayed above.

Example 3 demonstrates the retrieval of an exophoric reference item.

Example 3 (Text 3):

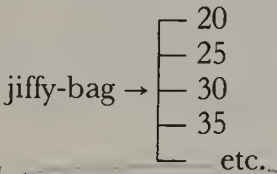
- (1) C: uh can I have a jiffy bag for that please
 (2) S: uhuh
 {3 secs—S gets the bag}
 (3) S: it should fit into the thirty-five I think

That in (1) is exophoric. Its identity is clear to the participants and the possible observers present in the situation, but not to outsiders. *It* in (3) refers to *that*, but is it also exophoric? Although the ultimate identity of *it* can only be established by exophoric retrieval, here *it* and *that*, nevertheless, form an endophoric reference chain in the text. This approach is justified by the fact that participants are often introduced exophorically into the text, but then, when the participant 'of the real world' disappears from the extralinguistic scene, nothing will prevent the interactants from continuing to refer to him/her/it even if he/she/it has left the scene (Martin forthcoming: 91).

Example 3 also illustrates bridging (BR) in service encounters. A reference tie is established between *a jiffy-bag* and *the thirty-five* and both track down the same participant, as shown by the coding.

a jiffy bag
↑BR
the thirty-five

The thirty-five is not considered to be part of *a jiffy-bag* in the same way as, for example, *feelers* are part of *the cockroach*. But when one considers the different types of jiffy-bags, i.e. the relevant FIELD network in question, *the thirty-five* can be seen as part of the system of jiffy-bags and is thus seen as related to the whole system by bridging:

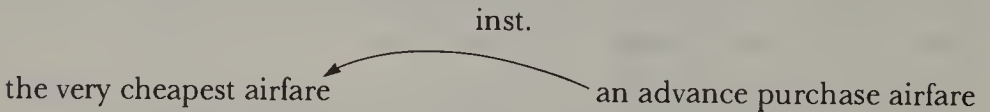


Instantial reference relationships also play an important role in service encounter texts (for a detailed discussion, see Hasan 1979, 1984a; Halliday & Hasan 1980, 1980/85).

Example 4 (Text 10):

S: the very cheapest airfare is an advance purchase airfare

An instancial relation is established between *the very cheapest airfare* and *an advance purchase airfare* by a relationship process and is coded by a curving line, which connects the participants in question (for types of processes, see Halliday 1985a).



In order to demonstrate how reference chains track participants in service encounter texts, an analysis of a full text, Text 9 in the Appendix, will be given in Figure 6.3 (for further examples, see Chapter 8).

As Figure 6.3 shows, *S* and *C* are the participants who are referred to throughout the text, more so at the beginning and the end of the text than

elsewhere. Note that in (8) *C* uses *us* instead of *I*. *C* had a companion who, however, remained silent throughout the interaction. In (4) and (6) the same instantial relationship appears. This is a repetition and is not in fact considered to be presuming, i.e. the reference items in (6) do not presume the identities in (4). In (6) participants *rail fares* and *bus fares* are presented. These items are not phoric, but since they start reference chains by being the items presumed, they are included in the chains. The first item that presumes an identity is *the* in *the respective charges* (8). This refers back to *rail and bus fares* (6). *S*'s *the fares* in (9) refers to the items in (6) rather than to *the respective charges*, because, as can be seen, *respective* and *the fares* are simultaneous speech. The item *that* in (11) presumes both *the fares* (9) and *the respective charges* (8). Branching out and joining up again is very common in reference chains in texts. Here such branching might be a reflection of the recursion of *C*'s Need, i.e. *C* presents two Needs, one after another. As the two Needs have been presented, two Compliances become necessary. But since the realization of the Compliances is complex, rather than for example a single clause, *S* is forced to sequence the Compliances. *S* chooses to deal with the train fares first, as marked by the reference item in (15) *the train*. Later, the end of the 'train fares' part is signalled by a text-reference item *that* (31) (discussed in the next section). The 'bus fares' Compliance may start.

Giving information about the bus fares is, however, complicated by the fact that there is more than one way of going by bus to the destination. The right route has first to be negotiated. The reference chain which includes *which way* (33), *shortest* (34), *either* (38) and *cheaper* (39) is the result of selecting a participant from a superset and comparing one participant in a set with another, i.e. selecting the right bus (relevance phoricity). Once the bus fares are given, there is another text-reference *that* (44) (see the next section). The last distinct reference chain in Text 9 is that of the 'brochures', starting with *these* in (47). It is an exophoric reference item and without extralinguistic knowledge its identity would remain unretrievable.

In narratives reference chains track down 'hero' participants (see the chains in Martin & Rothery 1981). Service encounter texts do not have 'heroes' in the same sense, as shown by Figure 6.3. Service encounters seem to involve so many participants (people, things) that none of them will have a chance to become 'heroes' of the text. Of course, some participant may become a 'hero' for a while in a service encounter text, but not from the beginning to the end, as is often the case in narratives. The realized reference chains in service encounter texts seem to be fairly dispersed throughout the text, and some chains are fairly disparaging and insignificant. This can only be considered to be a linguistic reflection of the nature of the social process in the service encounter genre. When going 'shopping', whether for souvenirs or tours, customers frequently have no clear, definite idea of what in fact it is that they want to buy. Customers expect the server to present them with various goods, make suggestions, and so on. All this activity is reflected in the discourse. The reference chains are exophoric, short and, naturally, instantial reference also plays an important role in the texts. The chains tend to end and begin as *C* and *S* move from one 'potentially purchasable item' to another. This is

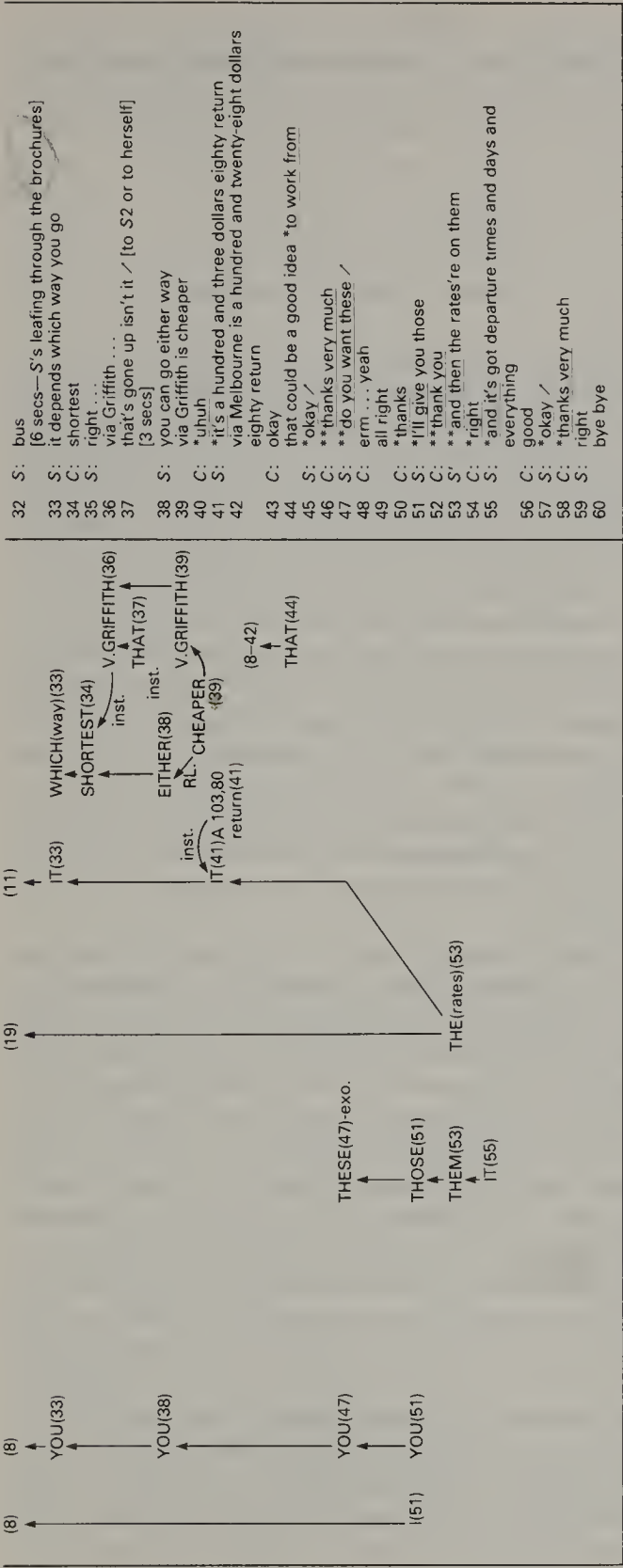


Figure 6.3 REFERENCE: structure in Text 9

perhaps less often the case in post offices, where the activity seems to be more strictly structured or routinized than in shops and travel agencies. But the post office service encounters tend to be so short that the structuring of social activity is not reflected in the structures generated by the REFERENCE system choices.

6.4 REFERENCE AND GENERIC STRUCTURES IN SERVICE ENCOUNTERS

A demonstration of how REFERENCE systems generate discourse structures which track down participants in texts has been given above. It is natural to assume that different genres have developed their own characteristic ways of keeping track of participants (for some preliminary work in this area, see Martin & Rothery 1981). In the previous section it was mentioned that service encounters do not seem to have any major 'hero' participants for the whole text. The tracked participants keep changing as the social process unfolds. Consequently, the reference chains tend to be short, or when longer, at intervals no reference to the participant in question is made at all. The density of items in chains is at points relatively low in discourse. There is a reason for this type of organization of reference structures. It appears that the reference chains discovered in texts are yet another linguistic reflection of the higher semiotic organization on the plane of genre. The reference structures reflect the service encounter process in question and its unfolding. In service encounter texts the very disarray of reference chains, the lack of participant 'heroes', is the best indication of the realization of the generic structure elements, as will be discussed below.

When one considers the development of the social process in service encounters, what needs to be negotiated first is 'who does something for whom'. It is therefore not surprising at the beginning of the text to find exophoric, and subsequently endophoric, references to the interactants playing the social roles of *S* and *C*. This can be seen in Text 9 in Figure 6.3. But once the negotiation about the items to be purchased begins, such references to *S* and *C* cease. 'The items to be purchased' are the foci instead (see Text 9). Thus, the beginning of the reference chain which tracks down the participant in *C*'s Need seems to signal that the activity has changed from the SB-element to the first S-element (3–7) in Text 9. SI is so short (an inquiry about *C* being in the right place to find the information he is after) that no reference chain, except for the instantial reference tie between *this* and *the right place* is formed. But in (8), in *C*'s Need, the reference of 'fares' begins. The lines (8–13) realize two Needs of separate S-elements, SII and SIII. As mentioned before, the Compliances to the Needs must be sequenced. The sequence is indicated by the split in the 'fares' reference chain, when *S* first complies with the Need about the train fares. The split provides some evidence for recognizing the boundaries of SII as (8–31) and of SIII as (8–13 and 32–45).

Some indication of the unfolding of the activity is also provided by Specifications which are needed when *C*'s Needs are not specific enough for *S* to comply with. The realization of such Specifications is usually reflected in texts by separate, localized reference chains. In Text 9 such a chain can be found, starting with *which way* (33) (see also the reference chains in Chapter 8). Further, the shift of activity to the Compliance part of the S-element seems to be often demarcated by instantial relationships. In Text 9 such relationships appear on (15) *the train* (fare)—*a 106 dollars return* and on (41) *it* (= bus fare)—*a 103,80 return*.

If the Compliance is rejected by *C*, subsequent new reference chains, which track down all the other items which *S* offers as alternatives or approximations for *C*'s Need, result. An evident illustration is found in Text 7, an extract from which will be given as Figure 6.4.

In the text extract in Figure 6.4, *C* looks for a piece of jewellery which is greyblueish in colour and which would fit the dress *C* is wearing. *C*'s Need is reflected in the reference chains of, firstly, *something—it—it* (1–4), secondly, *this dress—the neck* (1) and, lastly, also perhaps in the presenting reference item *sort of greyblue* (2). As can be seen, it is not a very specific Need. *C* is not sure exactly what she wants. Therefore the whole social interaction will involve looking at various pieces of jewellery, either as selected by *C* or as presented as a suggestion by *S*. The reference chains in the text reflect this social activity in the text very clearly. First of all, in (8) *C* still continues to express the Need and to specify the colour that she would like the piece of jewellery to be. Then *C* happens to spot something that would correspond to her conception of the type of jewellery she wants. This is expressed by an exophoric reference item *that* (9) and the instantial relationship (Carrier ^ Attribute, see Halliday 1985a) between *that* and *the type of thing*. But the colour of the piece is wrong. *The wrong colour* (9) does not enter any of the reference chains. It is exophoric, and because the piece of jewellery is the wrong colour it will not be mentioned again. But *S* presents an approximation to the greyblue that *C* wants. In (11) both 'the type of thing', 'the type of jewellery' and 'the colour' are expressed. *S* has discovered a colour in another piece of jewellery which in her opinion matches the colour *C* wants most closely. This is expressed exophorically by *that colour* in (11). Both the chain starting with *that* in (9) and the chain starting with *that colour* in (11) represent approximations to the Need *C* has in mind. They are not exactly what she is looking for. The piece of jewellery which *C* has found is the right type, but the wrong colour. The piece that *S* points out is the wrong type, but the colour is in *S*'s opinion close to the colour *C* seems to be looking for. However, *C* rejects this. The colour is too strong for her liking. This is expressed by a relevance reference *milder a colour* (12). Both these reference chains end, because both are ultimately unsuitable in *C*'s opinion.

Now, with the knowledge that *C* wants a milder colour, *S* goes on to suggest that 'a cream' would probably match best with *C*'s requirement for colour. The original colour request is brought back into focus by the reference relationship of *the nearest* (14) and *that sort of colour* (8). The greyblue colour is referred to as a superset, and the colour corresponding closest to it would be a

'C'		'S'	'jewellery'	'dress'	'colour'	An extract from Text 7 (shop)	
I(1)			(something)(1)	THIS (dress)(1)		1 C:	I'm looking for something that will go with this
I(4)			IT(2)	THE (neck)(1)	(sort of greyblue)(2)	2	dress just around the neck
I(4)			IT(4)			3	but it can be sort of greyblue couldn't it?
ME(5)				(sort of—)(6)		4	very dull
I(8)		YOUR(5)		THE (sort of—)(7)		5	I don't think I shall find it
			inst.	THE (type of thing)(9)		6	so don't waste your time on me too much
		I(11)	exo. THAT(9)	exo. THAT (colour)(11)	THAT (sort of colour)(8)	7	what sort of—
			THAT(10)	MILDER A	RL	8	you know the sort of—
			THAT(11)	COLOUR(12)	inst.	9	if I happened to see one that sort of colour ...
		YOU(15)	exo. THEY(16)	A cream(15)	THE (nearest)(14)	10	that's the type of thing only in the wrong colour
			IT(18)			11	what if I could find something like that in that colour
			IT(19)			12	that's awfully nice actually
						13	I think even milder a colour would do
						14	a cream a cream would do
						15	I think cream would be the nearest
						16	a cream would do you think do you
						17	how much are they
						18	[7 secs—C finds a piece of jewellery]
						19	two dollars fifty
						20	you can try it on
						21	I don't think it would be really—
						22	[4 secs—C tries it, but then puts it back]
						23	yes
						24	I'll see if we couldn't find an off-white
						25	how about a string of off-white pearls
							would that be better /
							that might be better
							[S shows C the pearls]
							I think I'm too old for that honestly

Figure 6.4 Reference chains in SERVICE of Text 7

cream. An instantial relationship between *a cream* (15) and *the nearest* (14) is established. *C*, however, does not do much with *S*'s suggestion of colour; *C*'s attention is already directed to another piece of jewellery. *C* goes on to inquire about its price. *They* (16) is an exophoric reference to this new piece of jewellery which *C* has found. But this participant does not become a 'hero' participant for long; the reference chain ends in (19), as *C* rejects this piece of jewellery, after trying it on. Then a new reference chain appears in the discourse structure. This time it is tracking a participant suggested by *S* with a presenting reference item, *a string of off-white pearls* (22). But this is also ultimately rejected by *C*.

All the short reference chains in Figure 6.4 reflect the social activity which is going on in the situation. The chains track the possible 'items to be bought' in the SERVICE element. The chains are the linguistic reflection of the participants' moving from one piece of jewellery to another, trying to match each piece with the requirements *C* has set for the item she wants to buy. But, since each jewellery item is rejected and is not the focus for long, the reference chains are short, unlike in texts where the focus is only on one or two participants. However, these short reference chains roughly indicate the realization of the S-element.

Once the S-element is over, GH and P follow, if a purchase is made. GH is mostly realized non-verbally; thus, reference chains cannot be expected to project the realization of this element. But occasionally reference structures can also be found in GH. Consider the italic items in the GHs of Texts 1 and 5 in Examples 5 and 6.

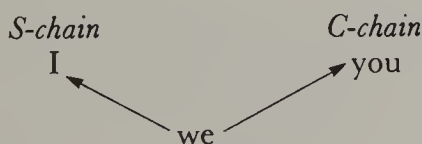
Example 5 (Text 1):

S: here *we* are
 {*S* hands over the stamps}
C: thank you

Example 6 (Text 5):

S: there *we* are dear {handing over the wrapped mobile}
C: thank you

In both texts the reference item joins chains tracking down *C* and *S* as participants (see the reference analysis of Text 5 in Chapter 8) and can be characterized as:



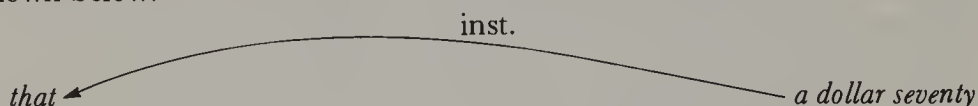
Thus, the point where S- and C-chains join may be considered to pinpoint considerably accurately the realization of GH. This does not, of course, happen all the time. For example, in Text 9 GH seems to be realized as a reference structure by a chain which tracks down the goods (the brochures) as a participant and no joining of S- and C-chains occurs.

What about the element P then? A good example of the beginning of P is given in Example 7.

Example 7 (Text 1):

S: that's a dollar seventy thank you

There seems to be an instantial relationship between *that* and *a dollar seventy*. But what is the identity of *that*? This encounter involves two SERVICES (see the Appendix), one concerns the getting of stamps for the two letters and the other concerns the buying of some first-day covers. In S's pay request *that* appears to refer to the two services as a whole. The provision of the goods in the two services is given a total price by an instantial reference relationship; as shown below.



Of course *a dollar seventy* would have been a sufficient realization of the pay request by itself, but the reference item *that*, which points back to a 'chunk' of text, is an explicit indication of the closing up of one stage in social activity and the starting of a new one. This kind of text-reference will be discussed shortly.

The CL and GB elements are not expected to be reflected by discourse structures generated by REFERENCE systems, due to their stereotyped nature. The *you* in such realizations of CL and GB as *thank you* and *see you later* can in fact be considered to have lost its function of referring to the interactants in question.

Another fairly reliable sign of the realization of generic structure elements in a text is, as already has been mentioned on several occasions, text-reference (see the discussion on text-reference in Halliday & Hasan 1976: 52–3, 66–7). By text-reference is meant those endophoric reference items which seem to refer not to a participant in a text, but to a whole hunk of text. A good illustration of how text-reference functions in texts has already been given in the analysis of Text 9 (see Figure 6.3). *That* (31) refers to the whole chunk of text, to (15–29), which realize SERVICE II. Also *that* in (44) refers to a chunk of text. It is slightly unclear whether this latter *that* just refers to SERVICE II (8–13 and 32–45), concerning the bus fares, or to all of the recursions of the S-element, in which case it would refer to (8–42).

Other examples of text-reference are to be found, for example, in Text 6 and Text 10 (see the Appendix). In Text 6, towards the end of the encounter, S says *oh we'll leave it at that*. It is very hard to say how far back in the text both *it* and *that* in fact refer. *It* seems to refer to C's search for a purse for his son and would thus refer to the whole chunk of text following C's turn: *very hard to buy a purse for a boy that's not sissy*. The *that* seems to go back to S's attempt to comply with C's Need and would thus refer back to where S presents C with wallets costing \$1,50: *cause there's little wallets up there but they are a dollar fifty did you see those?*

In Text 10 the first text-reference appears after S's initial explanation of what the advance purchase airfares are all about: *so that takes care of the advance*

purchase one. This *that* can thus be taken back to the beginning of *S*'s Compliance: *the very cheapest fare is an advanced purchase airfare.* The next part of *S*'s Compliance, the excursion airfare, is introduced by *S*: *this one here is an excursion return.* Later in the text one can find the following utterance by *S*: *this this is the sort of fare—yeah* [= a response to *C*'s previous remark] *that's the sort of fare you're looking at.* The items *this* and *that* obviously refer to the same 'thing', but what that 'thing' is is ambiguous. They can refer to the *this one here* given above, i.e. to the excursion fare. But they could also be taken as text-references referring to the whole chunk of text which occurs in between these two utterances by *S*. In such a case it would mark the end of *S*'s Compliance, or rather the end of what she first thought to be sufficient information to give *C* about airfares. At this stage of investigation on text references and generic structures of texts there is no way one can solve the problem of ambiguity of this nature. Further studies are needed to throw light on the phenomena of text-reference. But judging by the examples given above, it appears fairly certain that text-reference items indeed function as markers of generic structures in texts.

NOTES

1. *Milder a colour*, in spite of its 'non-nativeness', was said by a native speaker in an interaction with another native speaker.

7 Conjunction and boundary marking in the service encounter texts

This chapter will, firstly, discuss the role of the CONJUNCTION systems in texts and, secondly, proceed to elaborate the systems of BOUNDARY MARKING, the choices of which are hypothesized to signal boundaries between the realized generic elements of the service encounter texts. Generally, the function of conjunctions is to mark relationships between messages, but there are, however, conjunctions which seem to mark relationships between larger chunks of texts. Specifically, internal conjunctions appear to realize higher semiotic organization of texts. In this study it will be proposed that such internal conjunctions realize choices in the BOUNDARY MARKING system network on the genre plane and thus signal boundaries between generic structure elements in texts. But boundaries of generic structure elements can also be marked by various lexicogrammatical words, groups and clauses. Both internal conjunctions as well as some lexicogrammatical realizations fill structural frame slots generated by the BOUNDARY MARKING systems.

7.1 CONJUNCTIONS AND FRAMES IN TEXTS

Various scholars seem to agree that the function of conjunctions and similar items is to join units of discourse together. Conjunctions are used as 'linkages between components of texts' (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 321), 'to relate utterances to each other, or to mark a boundary in the discourse' (Stubbs 1983: 68), as 'statements that open or close subdialogs' (Grosz 1975/82: 152), to relate messages to one another on the message group rank (Martin 1981b: 311), or to realize moves in boundary exchanges of transactions of a lesson (Sinclair & Coulthard 1975). What the joined units are seems to vary from one scholar to another.

In Halliday & Hasan (1976) the interest is in a general presentation of conjunctive relations which function in English. Therefore, what such 'components of a text' might be which are linked by conjunctives, is not explicitly discussed (note that conjunctions are not considered as creating logical relations between units of text, but rather as 'stamping' logical relationships explicitly, as Martin (1983a: 1) puts it). Here and there in Halliday & Hasan (1976), however, one finds suggestions of what such components might be. For example, the conjunction *and* may occur in narrative fiction 'at the boundary of dialogue and narrative' (Halliday &

Hasan 1976: 235). 'A new stage in communication', 'a new incident in the story', 'a new point in the argument', 'a new role or attitude of the speaker', 'a transition from phatic communion to transactional phase in shop encounters' may be indicated by the use of *now* (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 268). In the simple analyses Halliday and Hasan mostly show how adjacent clauses are related to one another conjunctively, although conjunctives are occasionally shown to connect clauses which are several clauses apart (see the analysis of Text VI in Halliday & Hasan 1976: 351–3). It seems that Halliday and Hasan envisage the components of text which are connected by conjunctions as being of various sizes and, since their goal is to discuss conjunctives in general, they do not attempt to relate conjunctions to the generic structures of texts.

In Martin (1981b), the units which are considered to be related to one another by conjunctive relations are stated explicitly as 'text—message group—message—message part', which form a rank scale. The system of CONJUNCTION operates at the rank of message group (realized in lexico-grammar by clause complex units) and the system of CONTINUITY (clitic particles *again*, *already*, *yet*, etc.) operates at the rank of message (i.e. within a clause in lexico-grammar). Later, however, this rank scale is abandoned and the systems of CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY are proposed to create dependency structures on the discourse stratum of language (see Martin 1983a). The messages that are related by the above-mentioned systems may,

depend on more than one preceding message; some messages depend on those which follow; and some depend on preceding ones that are not contiguous . . . But it remains a general feature of CONJUNCTION that messages depend retrospectively on a single contiguous message [Martin 1983a: 46].

Notice that Martin also allows predictive functions to conjunctions, i.e. relating units to units which follow. What the units, other than the contiguous messages joined by these discourse systems, are is not elaborated in detail by Martin, but a suggestion of relating conjunctive relations to the schematic structure of a text is made. Martin (1983a: 56) sees such items as *now*, *okay*, *anyway*, *by the way*, *so* and *then* as 'demarcating stages, or elements of schematic structure, in a text'. Some examples of these kinds of relationships in texts are provided in Martin & Rothery (1980, 1981).

Sinclair & Coulthard (1975; henceforth S&C 1975) are also among the first to present specific claims about how conjunctions and similar lexico-grammatical items mark boundaries in a discourse type. In the rank scale and the structures which S&C set up for the analyses of lessons it is hypothesized that: (1) the first transaction of a lesson will start with a boundary exchange (realizing the Preliminary Element of the transaction); (2) the last transaction of a lesson may end with a boundary exchange (realizing the Terminal Element of the transaction); (3) there are boundary exchanges at the beginnings of each transaction in a lesson (the Preliminary Element is shown as an obligatory element in the transaction structure); and (4) there may be boundary exchanges at the ends of each transaction in a lesson (the Terminal Element is shown as optional in the transaction structure). However, S&C's presentation faces some problems.

The first problem is theoretical. A boundary exchange, which realizes the obligatory element Preliminary of transactions, is seen to have the move structure: (Frame) (Focus), both of which are optional (S&C 1975:26). If, however, both Frame and Focus are both optional simultaneously, the obligatory Preliminary of transactions does not get realized at all. Burton (1980: 127), however, presents the move structure of a boundary exchange as: Frame (Focus). (Burton quotes Sinclair (personal communication) as the source for the justification for the change). Now the Preliminary element will be realized by a boundary exchange which is realized by a Frame move.

But the second problem arises when it is noticed that S&C's own data show occasions where the obligatory Preliminary Element is not realized at all in the transactions recognized, i.e. the transactions do not begin with a boundary exchange, although so hypothesized. In Example 1 (S&C 1975: 63) a transaction is ended by *right*, followed by a subsequent transaction which starts by an elicit exchange and not a boundary exchange ('=' indicates the transaction boundary and '-' an exchange boundary).

Example 1

<i>Check</i>	Teacher: Finished?
	Pupil: Yes

<i>Boundary</i>	Teacher: Right
=====	
<i>Elicit</i>	Teacher: Read us what you've written, Joan

The third problem is that the acts realizing the boundary exchange moves seem somewhat uncategorical. For example, later in the same dialogue from where Example 1 has been taken, a new transaction is started by the teacher's boundary exchange: *Right (= Frame) Here's the next quiz then if you're ready (= Focus)* (S&C 1975: 66). The Focus move is seen to be realized by a metastatement act. This contrasts with the transaction, the ending of which has been given in Example 1 and which begins with a boundary exchange by the teacher: *Well (= Frame) Today I thought we'd do three quizzes. We won't take the whole lesson to do a quiz because I want to talk to you some of the time (= Focus)*. Then the teacher is shown to continue with a direct exchange: *The first quiz is this. Can you fill in this sentence* (S&C 1975: 63). Here *The first quiz is this* is seen as part of the Direct exchange and is realized by an act called a starter. However, it can be argued that *The first quiz is this* and *Here's the next quiz then if you're ready* carry exactly the same functions, organizing the three quizzes the teacher has proclaimed to do with the class sequentially. Yet S&C offer different analyses on transaction, exchange and act ranks for both. The problems which S&C's model seems to have in shunting between the higher and lower ranks in the treatment of the boundary phenomena complicate the search for how boundary markers are used to signpost larger chunks of discourse (a detailed discussion has been presented in Ventola 1984c). This is not to say that the microlevel approach to conjunctions and frames would not be useful. Stubbs (1983: 67-83), for example, points out that conjunctions and

the like can be used as criteria to determine how speech acts can be sequenced into exchanges or sequences. Stubbs does not, however, elaborate on how the microlevel boundary phenomena are related to the macrolevel units (i.e. how conjunctions and lexicogrammatical realizations are used as frames to mark boundaries of generic structure elements in a genre type).

Grosz (1975/82) has also written on discourse units, their boundaries and the markers which signpost the boundaries. Grosz's data consists of texts recorded in an experimental situation where an expert instructs an apprentice on how to assemble a part of an air compressor. The analysis proceeds 'top-down'. Firstly, the non-verbal activity of doing the task generates language which closely corresponds to the task. The non-verbal task divides into functional sub-tasks, e.g. attaching the pump, attaching the pump alley, etc. The dialogue generated follows the structure of the task. The non-verbal sub-tasks are reflected in the functional sub-dialogues. The beginnings and ends of sub-tasks/dialogues are typically marked explicitly by some kind of boundary markers. Grosz's examples of such markers are *now the next thing you do . . .*, *what should I do now?*, marking the beginning of a sub-task/dialogue, and *OK, that's finished*, marking the end of a sub-task.

Grosz's study shows that, at least in elicited, instructional type of discourse, the use of various markers can be related to the boundaries of elements which realize verbally and non-verbally the social activity in a situation. Grosz's work encourages one to examine whether any systematic patterns of conjunctions and lexicogrammatical items occur at the boundaries of generic structure elements in natural data of service encounters. The systems of CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY, as they have been elaborated by Martin (1983a), are used in such analyses. CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY are both discourse systems and create dependency structures on the discourse stratum. The major interest in conjunctive relations in this study is those relations which function as frames, i.e. as realizations of choices from the BOUNDARY MARKING system network, hypothesized to operate on the genre plane. Usually frames are realized by internal conjunctions, but additionally some lexicogrammatically realized items also operate as frames.

7.2 CONJUNCTION: SYSTEM

CONJUNCTION systems are presented at the least delicate level in Figure 7.1, which for the purposes of this chapter is considered sufficiently delicate.

The combinations of choices in which this study is particularly interested are [explicit/implicit: temporal/consequential/comparative/additive: internal: non-subordinating] (for other combinations and for more examples, see Martin 1983a). The choice of [non-subordinating] implies that the interest is in the independent messages (paratactic), rather than messages which are logically dependent on one another (hypotactic) (for a discussion on TAXIS, see Halliday 1985a). The [explicit/implicit] distinction differentiates those relations where the conjunctive relationship is explicitly 'stamped' by a conjunction from those where such explicit marking does not exist. Both

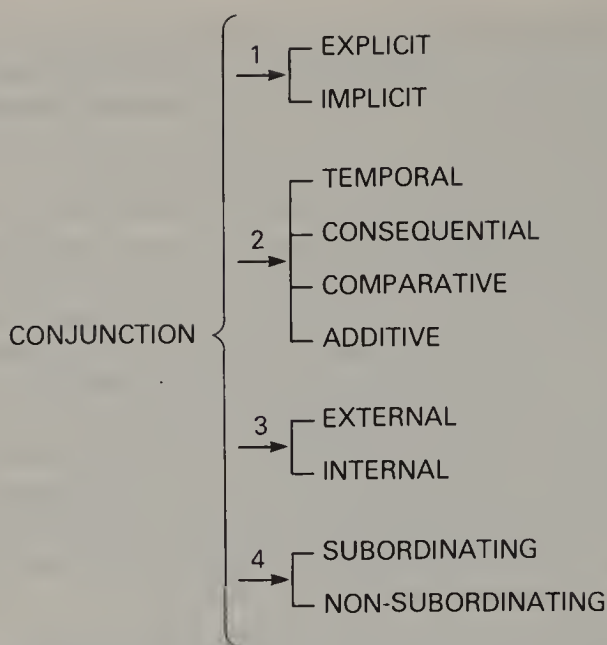


Figure 7.1 CONJUNCTION in English at primary delicacy (Martin 1983a:3)

choices will be taken into consideration when conjunctive structures are related to the generic structures found in texts (although naturally, if a conjunctive relation is explicitly marked, it is a clearer marker of the structuring of discourse, than an implicit conjunctive relation).

The choices [temporal/consequential/comparative/additive] are fairly straightforward. Conjunctions which realize temporal relations include *when, while, after, as, before, until*, etc. Examples of consequential conjunctions are *if, provided that, so that, because, since, although*, etc. Comparative conjunctions are such as *like, as, as . . . as, instead*, etc. Examples of additive conjunctions are *and, besides, plus, or*, etc.

The choice of [internal] over [external] in temporal, consequential, comparative and additive relations is hypothesized to relate to the speakers' overall, global organization of discourse. Thus the choice of [internal] conjunction is of specific interest in this study, although the external conjunctions are analysed as well. Halliday & Hasan (1976: 239) illustrate the difference between external/internal relation by a temporal conjunction *next*. In (a) *Next he inserted the key into the lock* the relation is external and the conjunction stamps a temporal relation between events. Thus (a) can be preceded, for example, by *First he switched on the light*. In (b) *Next, he was incapable of inserting the key into the lock* the relation is internal and the conjunction stamps a temporal relation between speech acts. Thus (b) could be preceded by *First, he was unable to stand upright*. The internal conjunction marks 'next in a series (of things to be said)' (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 236).

Martin suggests the following recognition test for external/internal conjunctive relations: 'change the TAXIS [i.e. paratactic/hypotactic] of the message group in question and see whether explicit reference must be made through a verbal process to the act of speaking of one of the messages. If so, the relation is internal' (Martin 1983a: 37). Two of Halliday & Hasan's (1976: 321) paratactic examples are used to illustrate the point. In (i) the consequential *so* is internal: (i) *We are having guests tonight, so don't be late.* In (ii) the consequential *so* is external: (ii) *He drove into the harbour one night, so they took his licence away.* When changed into a hypotactic clause complex, the paratactic clause complex in (i) requires a verbal process: *Because we're having guests tonight, I'm telling you not to be late.* A hypotactic clause complex without the verbal process sounds odd: ?*Because we're having guests tonight, don't be late.* The paratactic clause complex in (ii) does not require a verbal process when changed into a hypotactic clause complex: *Because he drove into the harbour one night, they took his licence away.* Here a hypotactic clause complex with the verbal process is unacceptable: **Because he drove into the harbour one night, I'm telling you they took his licence away.* Thus, only (i) seems to involve an internal conjunctive relation.

Martin (1983a: 25) notes that additives and comparatives seem to be used more frequently internally than externally, and further that there are some conjunctions which can only be used internally. It is perhaps worth listing the most frequent conjunctions which only function internally, so that these can be recognized in conjunctive relations in addition to the conjunctions which function both internally and externally (for a full discussion, see Martin 1983a). Examples of internal comparative conjunctions are *that is, i.e., in other words, for instance/example, e.g., in short, in brief, in general, in particular, likewise, similarly, in the same way, equally, again, indeed, equally, correspondingly, on the contrary*, etc. Examples of internal additive conjunctions include *oh, well, incidentally, by the way, anyway, now, alright, okay, in addition, moreover, further*, etc. The major internal consequential conjunctions are *hence, admittedly, needless to say, in any case, at any rate, nevertheless*, etc. Finally, internal temporal conjunctions include *at the same time, finally, lastly, firstly, secondly*, etc.

So far nothing has been said about the system of CONTINUITY which is also seen to operate on the discourse stratum. Continuity items, *already, finally, at last, still, yet, only, just, also, as well, too, neither, either, even*, to mention a few, are seen to connect 'clauses to their context in terms of time, counterexpectation and comparison' (Martin 1983a:42) (note that some items can function as conjunctions as well as continuatives). Such continuity items function within the clause rather than between clauses and, consequently, they are not expected to reveal a lot about the overall organization of discourse. Nevertheless, they will be included in the analyses of service encounter texts.

Although Martin's (1983a) presentation has been adopted as a basis for the analyses of conjunctive relations in the service encounter texts, it does not necessarily mean that this categorization is the only and the right one. One must agree with Halliday & Hasan (1976: 238) when they write: 'There is no single, uniquely correct inventory of the types of conjunctive relation; different classifications are possible, each of which would highlight different

aspects of the facts'. Further work is necessarily needed in the area of conjunctive relations. The influence of TENOR choices on conjunctive relations and on other items which realize frames in texts would seem of particular interest. Some work in this area has already started. Based on the facts found in classroom interactions, doctor-patient interviews and committee talks, Berry (forthcoming) suggests that BOUNDARY MARKING, i.e. the use of frames to mark discourse boundaries, is associated with the hierarchical feature [+ HIGHER] of social role. Thus, teachers, doctors and chairpersons are the participants who, as occupants of the [+HIGHER] role, are likely to use frames in discourse. Further, Coupland's study (1981, 1983, in press) seems to indicate that the 'Bernsteinian code' concept may also play a role in the marking of boundaries in discourse. Coupland's study involves interactions between a travel agent and customers from three social groups: (a) college/university educated; (b) public examinations at secondary level, and (c) no public examinations. Coupland has found that explicit frames at transaction boundaries and explicit closing transactions are most frequently used by college/university educated clients, whereas the clients with no public examinations at secondary level use frames least. Members of the middle class thus seem to signpost discourse boundaries with frames most explicitly. Coupland's (1983: 474) explanation for the findings is that the middle-class interactants are used to operating with explicitly structured and framed written language and this 'bookish' quality is then transferred to their everyday interactions. Such studies as Berry's and Coupland's indicate the vast area of still unknown territory to be covered in the study of conjunctions and frames. A study of boundary marking in service encounters can only be considered a minute step forward on this road of discoveries.

7.3 CONJUNCTION: STRUCTURE

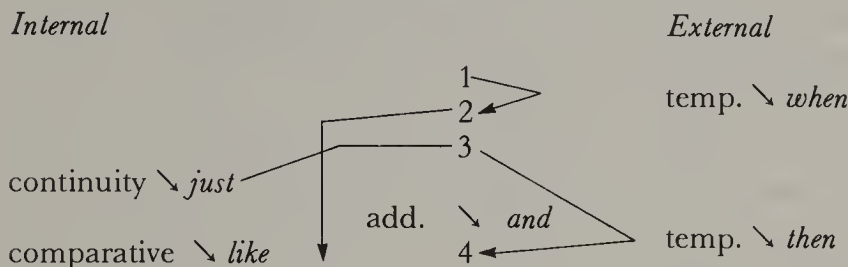
The choices from the CONJUNCTION network, as in the case of any other discourse system described so far in this study, generate structures. A reticulum¹ representation, developed by Martin (1983a, forthcoming) is adopted here to show the realization of CONJUNCTION choices as structures in service encounter texts. A reticulum is a vertical listing of all the messages in a text. A message in the reticulum is a conjunctively relatable unit (here CONJUNCTION analyses differ from the other analyses presented in this study; in the others the basic unit has been a unit selecting independently for MOOD). The internal relations, which are of particular interest in this study, are presented on the left of the message line, whereas the external relations are presented on the right. Implicit conjunctive relations are also usually included in the reticulum and are inserted within brackets. However, caution must be taken when the implicit conjunctive relations and their importance as expressions of overall structuring of discourse are interpreted. Explicit external additives are listed on the vertical line itself, between messages. Implicit internal additives are, however, not listed at all, as one could add

them practically into every message group. A reticulum analysis is demonstrated in Example 2.

Example 2 (Text 10):

1. *S*: *when* we come to writing out the ticket
2. yours is costed out differently from the child
3. *just like* on the domestic one we will book you all together
4. *and then* we'll write you as an adult and a child as a half fare

Example 2 has the following conjunctive structure:



Units 1 and 2 are related by an external, temporal conjunction *when*, which relates the Anterior event to the Posterior event. To clarify what is meant, *S* relates units 1 and 2 to units 3 and 4 by making a comparison of activities. This relationship is marked by an internal, comparative conjunction, *like*. Unit 3 includes a continuity item *just*. The comparison in units 3 and 4 is structured logically so that unit 3 is related both additionally and temporally to unit 4. Addition is realized by an explicit, external, additive conjunction *and*. The sequencing of events is again an Anterior event followed by a Posterior event and the relation is marked by an explicit, external temporal conjunction *then*. Example 2 is a short and simple example of a CONJUNCTION structure and its representation in a reticulum. The reticulum lines show the *ranges* (Martin (1983a: 48–9) or the *domains* (Halliday & Hasan 1976: 233) of the conjunctive relationships. For instance, in Example 2 the range of *like* expands over units 3 and 4.

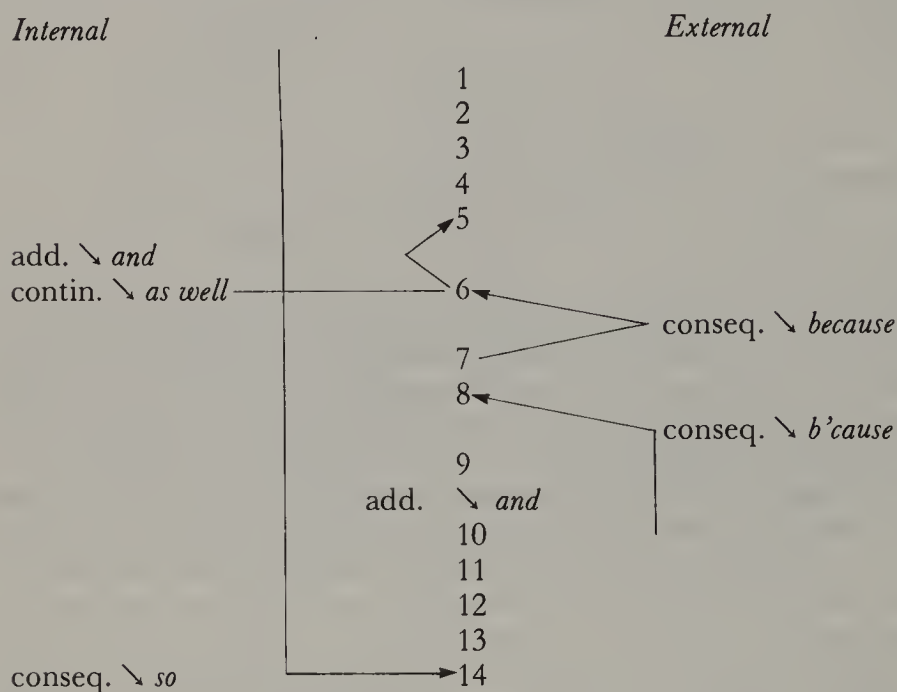
But often the range of a conjunctive relationship is longer than just a message or a few messages. Consider, for instance, an extract from Text 3 and its conjunctive structure in Example 3.

Example 3 (Text 3):

- S*: where is it going
C: Adelaide
 {3 secs—*S* checks the weight and looks up the price}
1. *S*: that's eighty cents surface mail or a dollar twenty air mail
 2. *C*: when will it get there by surface mail
 3. *S*: whereabouts is it going in Adelaide
 4. *C*: uhm Barossa Valley [tone 2]
 5. *S*: uh that's outside
 6. *and* you might *as well* send it surface mail
 7. *because* it's—...

8. it'll be there Monday . . . or Tuesday . . . either way . . .
9. *b'cause* it'll go to Adelaide
10. *and* it goes up by road or by train to the *Barossa
11. C: *yeah
12. okay
13. S: okay [tone 2]
14. C: *so* that's eighty

The conjunctive structures are presented by the reticulum below:



What is of special interest in Example 3 is the explicit, internal consequential conjunction *so* in unit 14. The range of this conjunction reaches at least back to unit 1. The meaning of *so* could be paraphrased as 'the matters of fact are as they have been stated in units 1–13; the consequence of this is that I, the customer, have to pay you, the server, eighty cents for the service you are providing me with'. *So* seems to sum up the preceding compliance and unit 14 is seen as a consequence or a result of the preceding interaction.

Whenever the range of the domain of a conjunction is functionally as far-reaching as it is, for instance, in Example 3, one is no longer dealing with conjunctions of the same type as the conjunctions which link contiguous (or near contiguous) messages. Furthermore, in such cases one cannot speak of the range of a conjunction in the same sense as one speaks of it when it connects two clauses or two clause complexes. Rather, the range for these 'far-reaching' conjunctions seems to be determined dynamically according to the global interactive demands. Each unit is negotiated by the interactants and conjunctions, when used as illustrated above, seem to 'signpost' boundaries of such units. Such outreaching conjunctions appear to function as realizations

of generic structures. It will therefore be suggested that such internal conjunctive items as *now*, *well*, *anyway*, *alright*, *right*, *okay*, *so*, *then*, among others, are best interpreted as discourse realizations of frames, options of the BOUNDARY MARKING system on the genre plane.

7.4 BOUNDARY MARKING: TOWARDS SYSTEM AND STRUCTURE

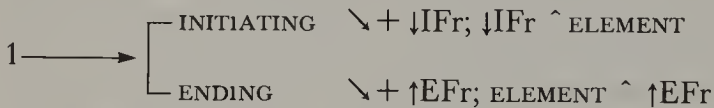
Following the discussion in the previous section, it can be hypothesized that on the genre plane there also operate systems which generate frame slots for marking boundaries (and also sub-boundaries) of generic structure elements. Internal conjunctions and their 'far-reaching' ranges realize these options on the discourse stratum. But BOUNDARY MARKING options, frames, can also be realized by other linguistic items. Such linguistic realizations as, for example, *that's the train* in Text 9 (see the Appendix) also mark boundaries of chunks of texts and indicate something of the realized overall structure. In Text 9 this clause occurs in the text after the server has explained the train fares to the customer. Immediately after this clause, there is a shift to the next stage in discourse where *S* explains the bus fares to *C*. *That's the train* seems to fill a frame slot, marking the shift from one stage to another in discourse and realizing a BOUNDARY MARKING choice. Thus, lexicogrammatical realizations, such as the major clause above, also function as frames.

Later in the same text, Text 9, after *S*'s explanation of the bus fares, the following exchange takes place: *C: okay that could be a good idea *to work from—S: *okay [tone 2]* (the asterisk and the underlining show simultaneous speech). This exchange also realizes BOUNDARY MARKING options. In *C*'s turn the frame is reiterated. The first frame is *okay*, realized by a minor clause. The second frame is *that could be a good idea to work from*, also realized by a major clause. *S*'s *okay [tone 2]* is also a frame. It signals the end of a stage in discourse and is realized by a minor clause on the lexicogrammatical stratum.

To summarize, the BOUNDARY MARKING systems are considered as systems which operate on the genre plane and organize the global structuring of generic structures in texts. The choices from the BOUNDARY MARKING systems generate frame slots which are realized on the language plane by 'far-reaching' internal conjunction structures on the discourse stratum and by those lexicogrammatical major or minor clauses which can also be shown to have large chunks of discourse as their range. Furthermore, it can be assumed that frames of BOUNDARY MARKING are realized by other semiotic codes than language (head nods, gestures, etc.); however, the consideration of these non-linguistic realizations of frames cannot be pursued here. What will be said below about boundary-marking phenomena in the service encounter texts must be seen as a development of the initial presentation of boundary markers/frames in Ventola (1983b), but even in its present format the account offered on BOUNDARY MARKING must be considered highly tentative. BOUNDARY MARKING will be introduced below by discussing the systems and the structures they generate simultaneously, starting with the initiating and ending frames and then proceeding to the intrinsic boundary markers.

7.4.1 INITIATING/ENDING boundary markers

It has so far been hypothesized that the basic organization of texts of the same genre is in terms of generic structures. In such structures the elements are sequenced one after the other, the sequential organization being dynamically negotiated and realized by the interactants (see Chapter 3). The points where one schematic structure element ends and another begins are often explicitly marked by boundary markers produced by either one or both interactants. Such frames between generic structure elements can point forwards or backwards. When a new element is started, a conjunctively or lexicogrammatially realized frame may be used to signal the fellow participant that the transition from an element to another is about to take place. Similarly, when an element is completed, a frame can be used to signal that there is nothing to be added to the activity realized in that particular element. BOUNDARY MARKING on the genre plane involves the choices in System 1 (the entry condition is a generic element).



System 1 generates Forward Pointing Initiating Frames ($\downarrow \text{IFr}$) and Backward Pointing Ending Frames ($\uparrow \text{EFr}$). The arrows in the labels in the parentheses indicate the forward ($\downarrow$) or the backward ($\uparrow$) pointing functions of a frame.

Example 4 illustrates the use of both a $\downarrow \text{IFr}$ and a $\uparrow \text{EFr}$, which are used to mark the boundary between SERVICE I and SERVICE II (indicated by the line=====the text).

Example 4 (Text 10):

- | | | |
|------------------------------|----|--|
| <i>Service I</i> | 1. | <i>S</i> : so you can get a combination of 'n off-peak shoulder peak * <u>off-peak or whatever</u> |
| | 2. | <i>C</i> : * <u>right</u> |
| $\downarrow \text{EFr} (=3)$ | 3. | <u>okay</u> |
| $\downarrow \text{EFr} (=4)$ | 4. | <i>S</i> : that gives you it all worked out |
| ===== | | |
| <i>Service II</i> | | |
| $\uparrow \text{IFr} (=now)$ | 5. | <i>C</i> : now another thing I was interested in's children's fares |

Line (1) brings *S*'s Compliance to an end. In (2) *right* functions as *C*'s K2f-move to *S*'s K1-move in (1). In (3) with the frame *okay*, though, *C* signals that *C* has understood that the Compliance has been completed and does not herself want to initiate any Additions to Compliance. Line (3) corresponds to what Grosz (1975/82: 153) has in the task-orientated dialogues named the 'I'M FINISHED' use of *okay*. But this *okay* alone does not realize the element boundary. Although *C* has not chosen to request for an

Addition to Compliance, *S* could always add one. However, *S*'s frame *that gives you it all worked out*, shows that the SERVICE I is completed, as far as *S* is also concerned. Both of *C*'s and *S*'s frames function as element-ending frames. It is common that at the end of the element the realization of a boundary is marked reciprocally by frames from both participants. This is natural, if one considers the interactional nature of service talk. The ending of the element has to be an acceptable procedure for both *C* and *S*, and therefore it has to be negotiated dynamically by both participants. But naturally there are also occasions where the boundary is marked by one party only, or simply that the boundary between elements is not marked at all. In such cases the boundary must be fairly explicit for both participants and there is no need to use frames to mark the boundary. More research is necessary to find out what makes some boundaries so obvious that they need not be framed, whereas others need a clear marking.

An illustration of a Forward Pointing Initiating Frame is given in (5) in Example 4. Since SERVICE I has now been completed, the whole encounter could proceed for example to RESOLUTION to purchase a ticket or to CLOSING, if such a purchase is not planned. But *C* has yet another Need and she has to indicate this to *S*. *C* uses an internal additive conjunction *now* as an element-initiating frame to signal *S* that there is yet a Need to come with which *C* wants *S* to comply. In the Need of SERVICE II the comparative reference item *another thing* also functions as a frame. Reference items of this kind, as well as some of the 'text-reference' items discussed in Chapter 6, tend to function as realizations of BOUNDARY MARKING system, although in this context it is not possible to fully examine their use. In language the same relationship is often manifested redundantly and the use of both *now* and *another thing* as frames for SERVICE II is an example of such redundancy.

Syntagmatically the frames discussed so far can be presented as: (↓IFr) + ELEMENT + (↑EFr). The slots on both sides of the element are the slots where frames potentially occur. The potentiality is represented by the parentheses around the frames. When the discourse unfolds dynamically, the potential frame slots occur in the following manner: (↓IFr) + ELEMENT + (↑EFr) + (↓IFr) + ELEMENT + (↑EFr) + (↓IFr) + ...

7.4.2 INTRINSIC boundaries

The basic organization of service encounters is interactional. That is, there are actions which *S* does and actions which *C* does. This interactional organization is also reflected in the organization of each generic structure element. In ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION, for example, *S* calls *C* to approach and *C* does so (or vice versa in marked cases). In SERVICE *C* presents a Need and *S* provides a Compliance to this Need. All generic elements can be described in these interactional terms. In other words, elements involve interactional sub-elements (cf. sub-dialogues and sub-sub-dialogues as part of task-orientated dialogues in Grosz 1975/82).

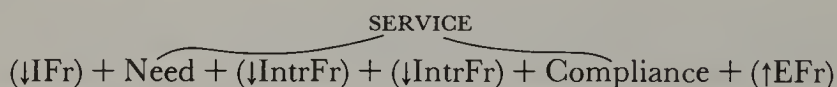
From the point of view of BOUNDARY MARKING this organization into interactional sub-elements is important because it seems that frames can also

occur in between these interactional sub-elements. Naturally, when an element is so routinized that it is realized simply by one exchange of two moves (in an adjacency pair manner), it is unlikely that frames occur in between such moves. This is why such elements as GREETING, ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION, SERVICE BID, CLOSING and GOODBYE are unlikely to include frames between their interactional sub-elements. But when an element is realized in a less routine manner, the boundaries of its sub-elements can be framed. The element SERVICE will be used as an example to illustrate the point (although again one has to note that in such stereotyped interactions as for example post office interactions, this element is frequently realized in an adjacency pair manner).

SERVICE is seen to have two interactionally motivated functional parts, *C*'s Need and *S*'s Compliance, which can be presented diagrammatically as:



It will now be hypothesized that the boundary of these two interactional sub-elements may be marked by two kinds of frames: a Backward Pointing Intrinsic Frame ($\uparrow\text{IntrFr}$), marking the end of a Need, and a Forward Pointing Intrinsic Frame ($\downarrow\text{IntrFr}$), marking the beginning of a Compliance. Syntagmatically, the potential slots for the frames in SERVICE are organized as:



It is highly unlikely that in service encounter discourse all the potential slots would be filled by frames at the same time. But Example 5 illustrates three of the frame types realized in three SERVICES (the boundary between elements is marked by ===== and the boundary between sub-elements within an element is marked by -----).

Example 5 (Text 10):

Service I

- | | | |
|------------------------------|----|--|
| $\uparrow\text{EFr}$ (=okay) | 1. | <i>C</i> : okay |
| $\uparrow\text{EFr}$ (=2) | 2. | <i>S</i> : that give you it all worked out |
| ===== | | |

Service II

- | | | |
|--|----|---|
| $\downarrow\text{IFr}$ (=now; another thing) | 3. | <i>C</i> : now another thing |
| +Need | | I was interested in's children's fares |
| ----- | | |
| $\downarrow\text{IntrFr}$ (=well) | 4. | <i>S</i> : well |
| +Compliance | | children are not eligible for advanced purchase |

5. children go at half of this fare
etc. {see the Appendix for the
intervening text}
6. S: you're looking at 1616
7. C: right
8. S: so they're the two together and
that's the fare
- ↑EFr (=so +8)
- =====

Service III

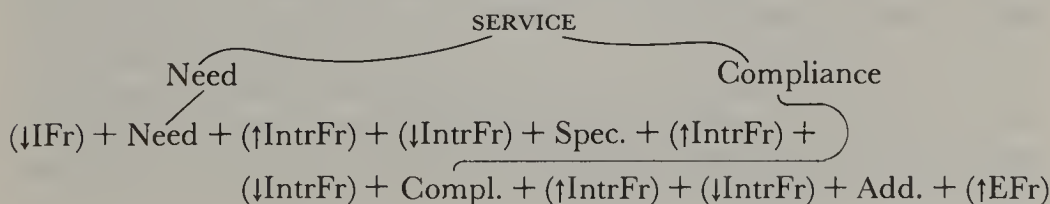
- ↓IFr (=now) + Need
9. C: now . . . what happens to the
children under etc.

Lines (1) and (2) realize the frames marking the end of SERVICE I. When SERVICE II starts, C signals the initiation of the new SERVICE and the presentation of another Need by the frames *now* and *another thing* in (3). S's frame *well* in (4) signals that C's Need is understood and the Compliance is to begin. The Compliance continues until in (6) *you're looking at 1616* (see the Appendix) S sums up the information as a concrete price. C's *right* in (7) is a follow-up move (K2f). It may be that C is waiting for an Addition to the Compliance, but S by the frame *so* in (8) shows that SERVICE II is completed. C then moves on to her next inquiry and indicates the beginning of the Need of SERVICE III by a frame *now* (9).

It has been postulated so far that frames may also potentially occur in between the interactionally motivated sub-elemental parts of generic structure elements. When the elements are realized dynamically, at least those elements which are realized less routinely tend to expand and grow. For example, in SERVICES such expansion often happens when the sub-element Need is clarified by Specifications of Need or when Additions are needed for the Compliance. The picture which emerges is the following:



How do specifications of Need and Additions to Compliances relate to the BOUNDARY MARKING? It seems that the number of potential slots for frames will be increased when Specification and Addition are also taken into account in the element realization. It can also be assumed that it is somehow necessary to demarcate the boundaries between a Need and its Specification and between a Compliance and its Addition. The intrinsic frames are also seen to operate within a Need and within a Compliance. So, syntagmatically, the following potential frame slots occur:



The picture is further complicated by the fact that, when realized dynamically, Specifications of Need and Additions to Compliance may be reiterated. That is, more than one Specification or Addition may be needed before the interaction can proceed to the next stage and naturally the frame slots are reiterated as well. Again, it is not assumed that in natural discourse one will find every posited slot filled by a frame at one instance. But evidence from the service encounter data seems to justify the hypothesis of these slots as presented above. Exemplifying every single slot and how it is realized by a frame will not be attempted here. It is hoped that in future research this can be done by finding examples of the realization of BOUNDARY MARKING and its relations to generic structures in other genres also besides service encounters. Here Example 6 will hopefully sufficiently demonstrate the principle behind the intrinsic framing in Specifications and Additions.

Example 6 (Text 11):

Service I

- 1. S: it's only if you're going inter-state then they can they could carry you if you're going through to Brisbane {they=buses}

=====

Service II

↓IFr (=then) + Need

- 2. C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow
- 3. S: tomorrow

↓IntrFr (=now) + Specification

- 4. morning or afternoon now [tone 2]
- 5. C: uh midmorning early afternoon

↓IntrFr (=well) + Compliance

- 6. S: uh well you've got a 9:50, and etc.

Example 6 includes several frames. The first one occurs at the boundary of SERVICE I and SERVICE II. SI finishes in (1), which has been about the buses from Canberra to Sydney. As the bus routes turn out unsuitable, C initiates a new SERVICE, inquiring now about the flight to Sydney. The shift from SI to SII is signalled by a frame realized by an explicit internal temporal conjunction *then* (2). S responds with a dynamic cf-move in (3). But as there are several flights to Sydney from Canberra during a day, S could give the information to C more efficiently, if he knew whether C intended to travel in the morning or in the afternoon. Thus S requests C to specify his Need. S marks this Specification with a frame *now* (4). Once C has supplied the information, S's Compliance may start and its beginning is signalled by an intrinsic frame *well* (6).

So far the new distinction [intrinsic]/[non-intrinsic] has been discussed from the point of view of structure. The system can now be incorporated into the BOUNDARY MARKING system network, presented in Figure 7.2.

The realization statements for Figure 7.2 are presented in Table 7.1.

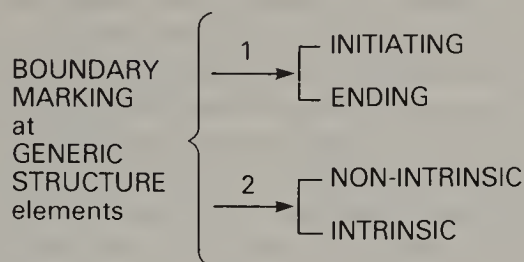
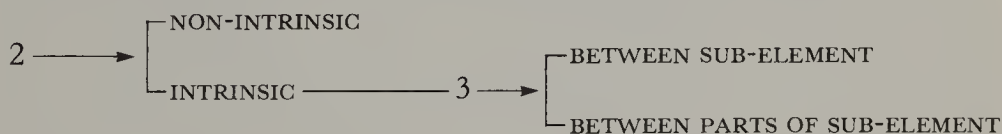


Figure 7.2 BOUNDARY MARKING systems of generic elements on the genre plane

Table 7.1 Realization statements for the BOUNDARY MARKING systems

[initiating : non-intrinsic]	+ ↓IFr	↓IFr ^ ELEMENT
[ending : non-intrinsic]	+ ↑EFr	ELEMENT ^ ↑EFr
[ending : intrinsic]	+ ↑IntrFr	Part of ELEMENT ^ ↑IntrFr ^ Rest of ELEMENT
[initiating : intrinsic]	+ ↓IntrFr	Part of ELEMENT ^ ↓IntrFr ^ Rest of ELEMENT

At this stage of investigation the following question is left unexplored: are the intrinsic frames used to signal boundaries of interactional sub-elements (e.g. between a Need and a Compliance) and of further sub-sub-elemental parts of the elements (e.g. between a Need and its Specification(s) or between a Compliance and its Addition(s)) functionally different? If they are the feature [intrinsic] in system 2 could be drawn more delicately as



Naturally also, the labels used for the intrinsic frames would then have to reflect this finer functional distinction. But to decide whether such a distinction is in fact necessary would involve looking at the potential slots posited earlier, and the types of frames occurring in them, in a wider context than has been possible here.

In Ventola (1983b: 188–90) it has been suggested that one can also recognize encounter-completion markers in service interactions (cf. the closing transactions in Coupland 1981, 1983). It has been suggested that such pairs as *thank you—thank you*, *thanks—don't mention it*, *ta—a pleasure*

function as encounter boundary markers signalling that the service activity is ended and that the only element to follow is a GOODBYE. These items have been given a double function: they have been seen to function both as frames and as realizations of the generic structure element CLOSING.

Now that more work has been done on both generic structures and boundary markers, it seems that it would be unjustified and theoretically unwise to consider exchanges like *thank you—thanks* as realizing both the encounter ending frames as well as CLOSING. The following reasons have led to the withdrawal from the position presented in Ventola (1983b).

Firstly, metafunctionally, CLOSING seems to differ from frames. Both lack the ideational function. CL, together with such elements as GREETING and GOODBYE, is interpersonal in nature. Its function is to express the participants' appreciation of the encounter. This has been acknowledged in Ventola (1983b: 188). Frames, in contrast to CL, carry a purely textual function in service encounters, allowing the smooth transition from an element (or a sub-element) to another.

Secondly, although for the major part CLOSING in service encounters is realized by a routine exchange of 'thanks', the element could, however, be expanded and elaborated. The exchange realizing CL could be seen to consist of several moves, for example in the following manner: *Thanks, I really appreciate your help. You have given me some useful information—Oh that's okay. It's a pleasure.* Frames can of course be iterative, i.e. two (or perhaps even more) frames with the same function may follow one another, but they cannot be elaborated grammatically in the same way as CL can.

Thirdly, CL can also be framed. At the end of Text 8 (see the Appendix), for example, *C* frames the initiation of CL: *C: anyway thanks very much.* Note that *anyway* is an initiating frame of a special kind. That is to say, it cannot occur as a frame for the first element in the conversation. Consider, for example, the impossibility of an interaction beginning with the SERVICE BID: *anyway can I help you?* It always seems to sum up what has gone before and indicates 'it's time to move on to the next stage'.

Finally, it seems that the BOUNDARY MARKING system network operates on the same plane as the generic structures, on the genre plane. Therefore, theoretically, frames cannot realize selections on the same plane. As an element of the generic structure of a text, CL will reveal the evident ending of the encounter. Setting up separate encounter boundary markers for the same function as CL seems now to be unnecessary. BOUNDARY MARKING options and their realizations, frames, are best seen as playing a role in the dynamic representation of genres, i.e. how interactants 'move' from one option to the other in the flowchart, generating at the same time the generic structure of a text.

The systems and structures of BOUNDARY MARKING have been discussed above. The relationship between generic structures and boundary markers has been illustrated at the same time. It seems that frames in texts function as clear 'signs' of boundaries between elements and within elements. The approach that has been adopted in the discussion of frames is the global approach, i.e. it seems fruitful first to discover the way frames are used to

mark boundaries between larger chunks of texts (generic elements) and only then should one proceed to see how frames function as markers of the sub-elemental boundaries. This approach contrasts with the approach which Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), for example, have adopted in their work. They start at the micro-level and then aim to proceed to the macro-level. But, as pointed out earlier, the top-level analyses are never made fully explicit, not even when boundary marking is the focus. The approach adopted here shunts conveniently between the plane of genre and the plane of language. Because of the limitations of space, the text analyses of BOUNDARY MARKING will not be included in this chapter, beyond the examples given earlier. However, some further examples of how the realized generic structure elements can partly (although not fully) be discovered by looking at the realizations of BOUNDARY MARKING choices, i.e. internal conjunctions and other linguistic items functioning as frames, will be provided in Chapter 8.

In the presentation of BOUNDARY MARKING realizations, the following notations for frames have been adopted:

$\Downarrow \boxed{\downarrow \text{IFr}} \Downarrow$	=(initiating: non-intrinsic)
$\Uparrow \boxed{\uparrow \text{IntrFr}} \Uparrow$	=(ending: intrinsic)
$\Downarrow \boxed{\downarrow \text{IntrFr}} \Downarrow$	=(initiating: intrinsic)
$\Uparrow \boxed{\uparrow \text{Efr}} \Uparrow$	=(ending: non-intrinsic)

As seen earlier in this chapter, the realizations of CONJUNCTION options and their ranges are represented in a reticulum by arrows. Also, in the representation of frames, the directionality of a frame is important. The arrows indicate the backward pointing and the forward pointing range of the frames. Because the elements are fairly long in the texts, the actual ranges are not drawn into the reticula. Ultimately, frames are envisaged as represented as if texts were 'engulfed' by frames.

To summarize the discussion on CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING, one can say that on the whole discourse boundaries and frames have received too little attention in discourse studies. It has generally been accepted that frames function as signposts of some kind of interactional development for participants, but there is no clear understanding of which points they are used at, how often they are used and for what purposes. Above, some suggestions concerning the use of frames in service encounters have been made. It has hopefully been sufficiently illustrated that frames are not simply fillers, but play an important role in how service is provided in the service encounter genre. Frames are well worth a serious study, and detailed qualitative and quantitative studies of their exact functions and frequencies of occurrence in different types of genres are urgently needed.

NOTES

1. The reticulum representation has its origin in the work of Hartford stratificationists (see Martin 1983a: 46).

8 A comprehensive view of discourse systems and their realization

The purpose of this last chapter is to offer a comprehensive view of how the discourse systems discussed in detail in the previous chapters operate in texts, complementing each other when a text is structured in generic terms. As an illustration, complete analyses of three texts will be given, each of which demonstrates how discourse systems operate in a text. The discourse structure analyses of the texts throw some light on how the generic structure realization in each text indicates the texts as texts of the service encounter genre. Furthermore, the analyses also denote how the texts differ, i.e. that different register choices have been made in each of them as the texts unfold. The discussion will start with Text 4, a post office text, followed by a shop text, Text 5, and finally a travel agency text, Text 11, will be discussed (the texts appear in the Appendix).

8.1 TEXT 4—A POST OFFICE TEXT

Text 4 is a conversation between a customer (*C*) and a server (*S*) in a post office. *C* enters the post office and, when it is her turn, hands *S* some letters. *S* weighs them and tells *C* how much they will cost to send to their destination. The stamps and the money are exchanged. *C* makes an inquiry about the posting procedure. *S* then gives *C* the change. *C* thanks *S* and leaves the premises. The description roughly captures the activity sequence of the event. But how is language used to realize that activity sequence? The analyses in the next sections will aim to make the linguistic realizations of the activities on the discourse stratum in Text 4 explicit.

8.1.1 Text 4 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

Since verbal interaction between *S* and *C* seems so central in this text, evidence for the generic structure organization will first be sought in the ways *S* and *C* construct their exchanges, i.e. in the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE. The exchange analyses are presented in Figure 8.1.

As Text 4 is a short and fairly ritualistic type of interaction, it comes as no surprise that the boundary of the first exchange, consisting of an Attention-slot and a Response to Attention-slot, coincides with the boundary of the element ATTENDANCE ALLOCATION (Exchange 1 in Figure 8.1).

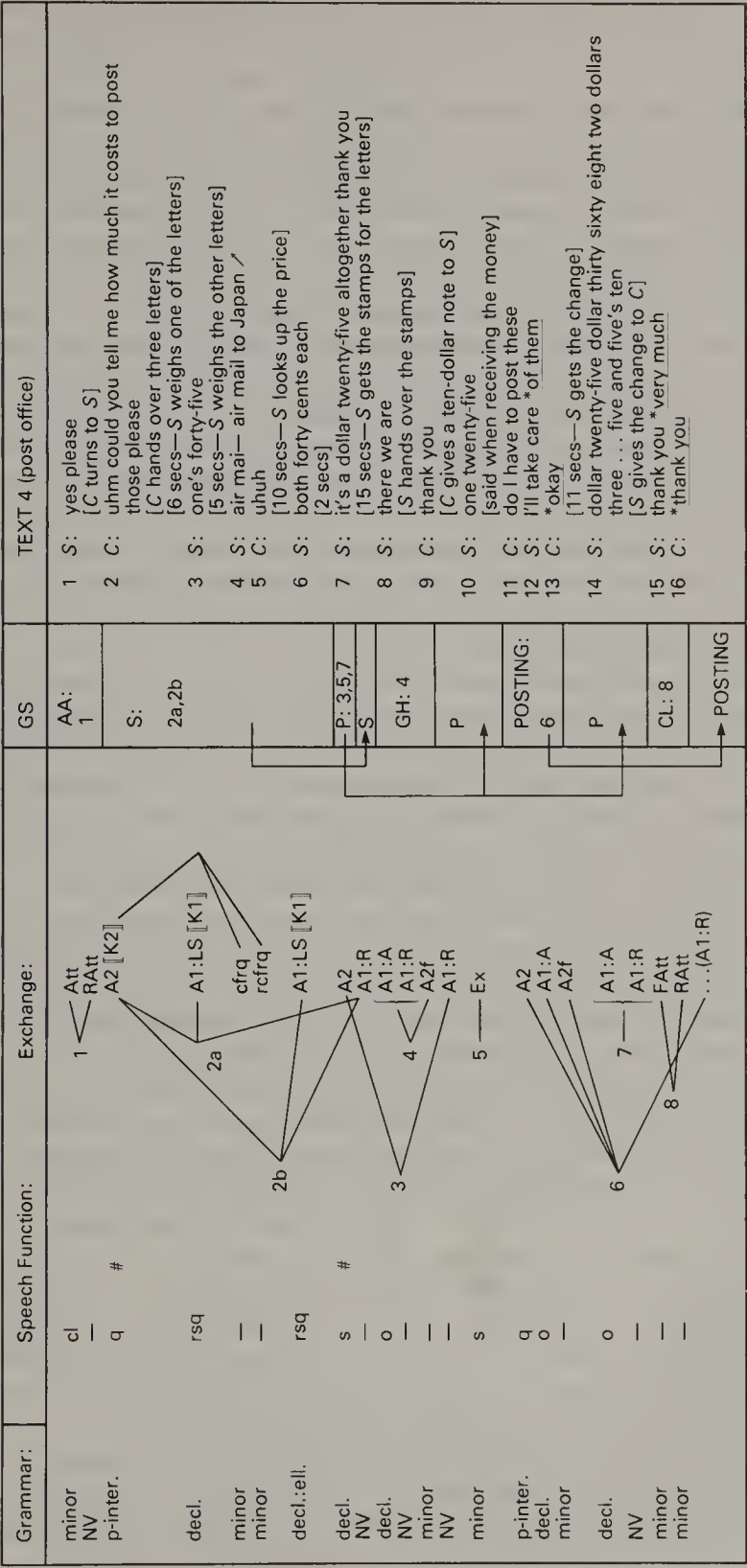


Figure 8.1 Text 4 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

Next, Exchange 2 realizes SERVICE. At first sight, Exchange 2 seems to be an ordinary knowledge-orientated exchange, where information alone is requested. However, after *S*'s Compliance, stamps are also given to *S*. Exchange 2 is a linguistic service. Line (2), where *C* presents her Need, *uhm could you tell me how much it costs to post those please*, can be paraphrased, on the one hand, as *how much does it cost to send those to x?* and, on the other, as *please give me appropriate stamps for these letters!*. In (2) a knowledge-orientated move (K2) functions in an A2-slot in an action-orientated exchange. Exchange 2 is also a split exchange. *S*'s Compliance is given in two parts: (3) *one's forty-five* and (6) *both forty cents each*. These moves of *S*'s provide 'the linguistic service' whereas the non-verbal action after (7) provides an appropriate action to the requesting of goods, (see Exchange 2 in Figure 8.1). The split of Exchange 2 is caused by *S*'s SUSPENDING move of cfrq, where *S* checks what *C* has written on the envelope: *air mai—air mail to Japan [tone 2]*. *C*'s rcfrq *uhuh* confirms that the information is correct. Had this confirmation request sequence not been necessary, Exchange 2 would most likely not have been a split exchange, but rather *S* would have given the linguistic service information by a move complex, for example *one's 45 and the others're 40 cents each* (1 ^ + 2). Thus the sequence of cfrq ^ rcfrq is causing the split in Exchange 2.

The activity in Text 4 seems to change once the obligatory move of Exchange 2, A1:R (*S*'s getting the stamps for *C*), has been completed. The A1:A in (8), *S: there we are*, is a move in a new exchange which begins the element GOODS HANDOVER. But the move in (7), *S: it's a dollar twenty-five altogether thank you*, has not yet been analysed. It is *S*'s request for *C* to pay for the stamps *S* provides for her, a move in an A2-slot. This instance is an excellent example of the dynamic realization of interaction in service encounters. The synoptic view of service encounter interaction is that first SERVICE takes place, then either PAY or GOODS HANDOVER follows. But what happens dynamically is that *S* tells *C* in advance what the goods will cost her, even before *S* actually gets the goods. In this way, while *S* gets the stamps, *C* can take out her money and will be ready to give it to *S*. No time is wasted on either side. The dynamic linguistic realization reflects the principle of 'work efficiency'. Such principles may tamper with our synoptic views of sequential organization of exchange or of generic structure elements. In Text 4 the realization of PAY is, in fact, dispersed. The realizations of partly SERVICE, and partly GOODS HANDOVER and POSTING, intervene with the realization of PAY, as Figure 8.1 shows. PAY is realized by Exchanges 3, 5 and 7. Exchange 3 starts with an A2, where *S* requests *C* for payment (7). When *S* tells *C* how much *C*'s stamps will cost, *C* has time to take out the money. But, as long as *S* is occupied with the getting of the stamps (A1:R), *C* cannot hand the money over to *S*. When *S* finally turns back to *C*, after getting the stamps, *S* cannot receive the money, because she has the stamps in her hand. So, before *S* can take the money offered by *C*, GOODS HANDOVER must take place. It is realized in Exchange 4, i.e. by *S*'s simultaneous A1:A and A1:R and by *C*'s A2f. After GOODS HANDOVER, the realization of PAY may continue: *C* gives the money to *S*, A1:R. Exchange 5

is *S*'s reminder to herself of the cost of *C*'s stamps and it helps *S* to sort out the change *S* has to give to *C*.

When *S* is about to turn to get the change for *C*, *C* starts another element, POSTING, which thus also interferes with the realization of PAY. Line (11), *C*'s *do I have to post these*, is an incongruent way of saying *will you post these letters for me please* in A2. *S*'s response, *I'll take care of them* in (12) is A1:Ass and *C*'s *okay* in (13) is A2f. Exchange 6 is a postponed action-exchange and thus the actual move carrying out the action, A1:R, appears only after the closing of the encounter. The last element, CLOSING, is realized, the two moves closing the attention in Exchange 8: FAtt ^ RAtt.

What immediately draws one's attention in the realization of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in Text 4 is its dynamic character. The exchanges realizing SERVICE, PAY, GOODS HANDOVER and POSTING are intertwined, intermingled, embedded. Such exchange structure realization gives a new understanding of the realizational sequencing of generic structures in texts. In other words, one cannot say that once the exchanges realizing a particular element are over, the exchanges realizing another element may start. A move of one exchange realizing an element X may in real time be followed by a move of another exchange realizing an element Y. One can only say that the dynamic realization of the generic structure elements in service encounter genre is even more dynamic than captured by the flowchart in Chapter 3. However, on the whole, one can say that the general realizational sequence stated for the generic structures in service encounter texts in the flowchart is seen to also have been generated in Text 4. That is, Exchange 1, realizing AA, appears before Exchange 2, which realizes S. S is almost completed before P is started in Exchange 3. What cannot be predicted is that P is realized discontinuously in Exchanges 3, 5 and 7. The interrupting exchanges are Exchange 4, which realizes GH, and Exchange 6, which realizes POSTING.

What the analysis has shown is that the exchanges do not always seem to be sequentially organized so that first one exchange is realized, then the second, etc. This leads to the conclusion that the boundaries of the generic structure elements overlap, as shown in Figure 8.1 in the 'Generic Structure-column' (GS). Nevertheless, it does seem that CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realizations portion Text 4 into exchanges which can then be correlated with the generic structure elements on the genre plane. The realizational relation which emerges is pictured below:

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE	Text 4	CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE
AA	1 + NV	Exchange 1
S	2-6 + NV	Exchange 2
P	7 + NV + 10 + 14 + NV	Exchanges 3, 5, 7
GH	8 + NV + 9	Exchange 4
POSTING	11-13 + NV	Exchange 6
CL	15-16	Exchange 8

The 'chunking' presented above is functional in nature on the genre plane in terms of generic structure elements. These elements will set Text 4 apart from other texts belonging to some other genres, for example classroom interaction, job interviews, etc. It now remains to be discussed whether such chunking of Text 4 into functional generic structure elements will also be supported by the realizations of other discourse systems.

8.1.2 Text 4 and LEXICAL COHESION

The LEXICAL COHESION analysis of Text 4 has already been presented in Figure 5.7 in Chapter 5. LEXICAL COHESION does not seem to reflect the realization of the element AA (line 1 + NV), as the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE analysis has done. Further, when one looks at the hypothesized SERVICE (2–6 + NV), again there is not much that LEXICAL COHESION can reveal about the realization of this element. Only a few indexical items, such as *post*(2), *air mail*(4) and *Japan*(4), appear in the text which might indicate the boundary of S. The 'lack' of lexis has to do with the fact that the participants are mostly expressed by reference items, rather than by lexical items. Consequently, the experiential content remains hidden in exophoric reference items rather than being displayed openly in lexical strings. The second instance of *post* appears in (11) in the hypothesized POSTING (11–13). The relative distance between the two instances of *post* could be taken as indicative of their realizing separate elements. The major lexical string 'rates', however, clearly appears to correlate with the generic structure organization. Eleven lexical items out of fourteen appear in the realization range of PAY (7, NV + 10, 14 + NV). The lexical items of CL (15–16) are stereotyped and not considered cohesive.

It can be concluded that LEXICAL COHESION analyses do not appear to signal clearly the generic structure realization of Text 4. Primarily, the strings reflect the realization of P. Little support can be found for S. But for the realizations of AA, GH, POSTING and CL none or very little support can be found in the LEXICAL COHESION analyses.

8.1.3 Text 4 and REFERENCE

What about the reference chains generated by the REFERENCE systems in Text 4? Can they provide support for the chunking of Text 4 into the presented elements? The reference chains are captured in Figure 8.2.

The first reference item appears in (2); so, no support for the realization of AA is provided by REFERENCE. Some support for the realization of S can, however, be found. Firstly, in *C's Need* (2) *uhm could you tell me how much it costs to post those please* the following exophoric reference items appear: *you*, *me*, *those* (note that *it* in (2) is structural and does not code a participant). All these items start reference chains. *You* starts a 'S-chain' and *me* starts a 'C-chain'. *S* and *C* are not referred to a second time within the S element, but *those*, i.e. the letters, is referred to again within SERVICE. The second reference to the letters is in (3), *S: one's forty-five*, where *one* is related to *those*

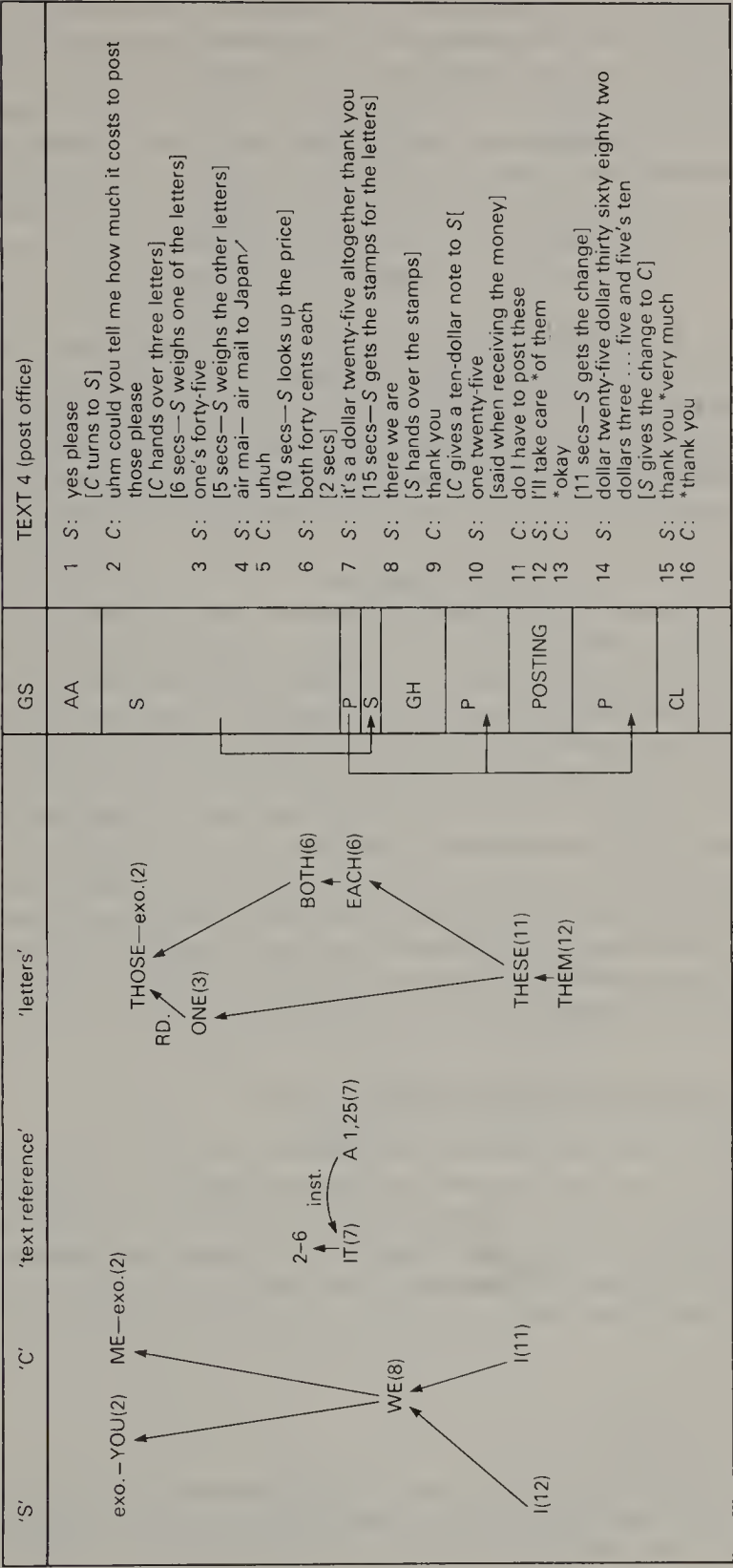


Figure 8.2 Text 4 and REFERENCE

through a redundancy relationship (see Chapter 6). The letters are referred to again in (6), *S: both forty cents each*, where *both* refers to *those* and then *each* refers to *both*. It is interesting that *one*, *both* and *each* do not belong to the same reference chains. *One* refers only to one of the participants represented in *those*. *Both* cannot refer to *one*. *Both* must necessarily also be seen to refer to the participants involved in *those*, but not to the same one as *one*. The reference chain seems to split *S*'s Compliance in the same way as Exchange 2 in CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realization did. Such a split seems to indicate quite reliably where the Compliance part of *S* is realized in Text 4.

The 'letters' are referred to again later in (11), *C: do I have to post these*, and in (12), *S: I'll take care of them*. Note that here the letters are no longer 'split', but are treated as a group in *these* and *them*. The letter-chain seems to join up again. It is natural that in the Compliance *S* may treat letters individually or in lots, but in POSTING the letters are treated as a lot. They are all dropped into the mailbag or box at the same time. Thus the occurrence of the items *these* and *them* in the 'letter' chain seems to offer some evidence for the realization of posting.

So far the elements P, GH and CL have not been discussed. P can partly be located by a typical text-reference item (see Chapter 6). In (7) *it* in *S's it's a dollar twenty-five altogether thank you* refers to the whole of SERVICE. The element P is also partly detected by the instantial reference relationship between *it* and *a dollar twenty-five*. The realization of GH is reflected by the joining of the *S*-chain and the *C*-chain by the item *we* in (8), *S: there we are*. Finally, it would appear that the reference item *you* in *thank you very much* (15) and *thank you* (16) would be a reference indication of realization of CL. However, *you* in such routines has almost totally lost its reference function.

It seems then that reference items in Text 4 reflect the hypothesized chunking of elements S, P, GH and POSTING, especially in regard to the types of items in the reference chains and the formulation of the chains and their interaction at particular points of the text.

8.1.4 Text 4, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING

Neither conjunctions nor other linguistic items seem to function as frames in Text 4. Thus there is no explicit realization of BOUNDARY MARKING at all. One could perhaps establish some implicit conjunctive relationships, but such implicit relations are not analysed. It is felt that enough support for the link between conjunctive relationships and the generic structure elements must first be found from explicit conjunctive relationships realized in texts.

8.2 TEXT 5—A SHOP TEXT

A young customer walks into a souvenir/gift shop with her little brother. The server is at that moment busy with another customer, so the newly arrived walk to the section of the shop where they can see the mobiles

displayed at the show window. When *S* is free again she walks up to *C* and her little brother and initiates the conversation. This is where Text 5 picks off. The interaction is between *S* and *C*. *C*'s little brother intervenes only once, addressing *C* (see the Appendix). Full analyses of the various discourse structures in Text 5 will be given in each section below, but, for reasons of space, the degree of detailed description has been reduced to a minimum.

8.2.1 Text 5 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

The CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE analysis of Text 5 is presented in Figure 8.3.

Exchange 1 consists of the moves Att $\wedge$ RAtt, *S*: *you're just browsing are you*(1)—{*C turns to S*}. This exchange realizes the generic structure element AA. The move in Att is perhaps less conventional (cf. *yes please* in Text 4). Nevertheless, its function is fulfilled when *C* turns to *S* and the interaction may begin.

The next element is *S*. It starts with Exchange 2 and finishes with Exchange 14. In Chapter 4—we discussed how a nuclear exchange expresses *C*'s Need and *S*'s Compliance. When, however, Needs are not clear or Compliances are not sufficient, more exchanges take place. This is the case in *S* in Text 5. The general area of *C*'s Need is established by Exchange 2, but the specific Need is stated in Exchange 3 (see Figure 8.3). Lines (5) and (6) both function as DA1-slots in Exchange 3 (the move complex relationship is $1 \wedge = 2$). In (9), A1:A, *S* makes a promise to get what *C* has asked for in (7), in A2. But *S* is unsuccessful in carrying out the non-verbal action in A1:R, as indicated by the asterisk. After searching for some time, *S* makes a new promise to *C* in (10), *I'll take one out of the window for you* (A1:A). This time A1:R is successful. The new search is realized by Exchange 4 (note that Exchange 4 cannot be considered part of Exchange 3, because of the time lapse separating them). Exchanges 3 and 4 then realize the Need and the Compliance. But the text continues with *S* saying: (11) *this is the one*, (12) *he just goes round really*, etc. Exchanges 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 14 are Additions to Compliance realized by knowledge-orientated exchanges (see Chapter 6). Exchanges 8 and 13 (which consist of Ex-slots) are self-expression exchanges.

The element RESOLUTION is realized by Exchanges 15 and 16 (26–28). Exchange 16 is *C*'s little brother trying to make the resolution for *C*, although he comes a bit too late. *S* then proceeds to pack the mobile. Once packed, *S* hands it over to *C*. The GOODS HANDOVER is realized by Exchange 17, which is a typical action-orientated exchange (see Figure 8.3). The braces indicate the simultaneous realization of A1:A and A1:R. The element PAY is realized by three exchanges, Exchanges 18, 19 and 20 (see Figure 8.3). As *C* already knows the price of the mobile, given in one of the Additions in *S*, no pay request is needed. *C* simply hands a note to *S*. Exchange 18 realizes part of the PAY element, i.e. the handing over of the money. As the sum given is not exact, *S* needs to give *C* change. In Exchange 19 *S* first reminds herself of the

Grammar:	Speech Function:	Exchange:	GS:	TEXT 5 (shop)
decl. NV	s	1	AA: 1	1 S: you're just browsing are you [C turns to S]
p-inter. decl.	q	2	S: 2,3,4	2 C: is there anything particular you wanted or— 3 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles
minor wh-inter.	q	1	1	4 C: okay 5 hm which one did you er ... would you like to see out ...
minor	q	=2	5,6,7 8,9,10	6 any particular one there ✓ [the mobiles are in the show window] [2 secs]
decl.ell. minor decl.	c	3	11,12 13,14	7 C: the diver ... 8 S: I'll take that one out 9 I'll take that one out
NV	roc			[9 secs—S bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor, but cannot find the right one]
decl.	o	4		10 S: I'll take one out of the window ... for you
decl. NV	—	5		[5 secs—S takes the mobile out]
decl.	s	6		11 S: this is the one [S puts the mobile on the counter] 12 he just goes round really ... like that [S gives the mobile a push]
plg wh-inter.	—	7		13 C: hm ... 14 how much is it
decl.ell.	q rsq	7		15 S: four fifty [5 secs—C keeps looking at the mobile]
plg	—	8		16 C: er ... hm
decl.	s	9	1	17 S: all of them are four fifty except the small rocky one 19 that's three fifty
decl.	s	9	=2	19 and the others are bigger
decl.	s	9	×3	20 C: you've only got the golfer the tennis player and the diver
decl. #	q	10		21 S: yes
decl.ell	rsq	10		

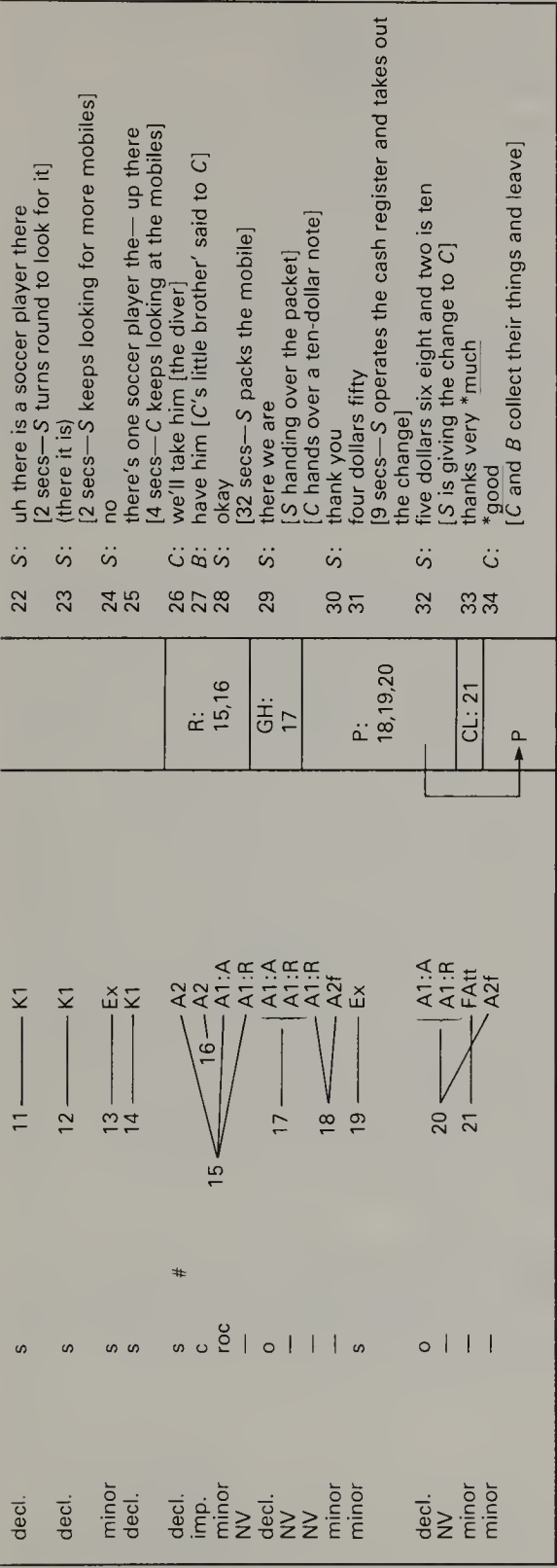


Figure 8.3 Text 5 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

price of the purchase. This exchange helps *S* to sort out how much change to give to *C*. The actual giving of the change is realized by Exchange 20.

The last element, CLOSING, is realized in Exchange 21 by *S*'s FAtt. *C*'s *good* in (34) could be taken as a responding RFAtt. However, since it seems to be partially simultaneous with *S*'s *thanks very much* (33), it appears to be *C*'s follow-up to *S*'s action of giving the change. *S*'s FAtt will thus not be responded to.

Now that the discourse structures generated by the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE systems have been presented, one can ask how the exchanges represent the generic structure of Text 5. Text 5 is a longer text than Text 4 and involves more exchanges. Consequently, the typical patterns may not be so easily found. The hypothesized SERVICE in particular is realized by so many exchanges that CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE does not clearly seem to indicate the boundaries of SERVICE. But even though the boundaries of an exchange and an element do not coincide, certain conclusions can be drawn from the element realizations by looking at whether the exchanges in the text follow the typical realizations of activity.

For example, there is a marked difference in the type of exchanges realized at the boundaries of elements. AA is realized by an attention-orientated exchange (Exchange 1), whereas the beginning of SERVICE is realized by a knowledge-orientated exchange (Exchange 2). This shift in the functions of moves indicates that the exchanges realize different generic structure elements. Furthermore, the end of SERVICE, the last Addition, is realized by a knowledge-orientated exchange (Exchange 14). However, the next exchange, Exchange 15, is action-orientated, which together with Exchange 16, realizes R. The SERVICE element on the whole follows a pattern in which a nuclear exchange, typically an action exchange, can be preceded by a knowledge exchange (Introduction to Need) and, furthermore, the nuclear exchange is followed by knowledge exchanges (functioning as Additions to Compliance).

GH and P elements also follow the typical patterns of realization in exchanges. Exchange 17 involves two moves which realize GH by signalling the handover verbally and by simultaneously handing over the goods non-verbally. P has to be realized by two exchanges, if the money given is not exact. In Text 5 Exchange 18 realizes the handing over of the money and Exchange 20 realizes the handing over of the change. *S*'s reminder to herself of the total sum of the purchase, Example 19, is also typical in service encounters.

Thus, all in all, the ways in which exchanges are manifested and the ways they are sequenced in Text 5 corresponds to the typical activity realization in the genre of service encounters. The analysis offers support for the following kind of correlation between the realized CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE and the generic structure for Text 5:

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE	TEXT 5	CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE
AA	1 + NV	Exchange 1
S	2–25	Exchanges 2–14

R	26–28	Exchanges 15–16
GH	29 + NV	Exchange 17
P	NV + 30–32 + NV + 34	Exchanges 18–20
CL	33	Exchange 21

Naturally, however, support for such a generic structure must also be found in the structures generated by other discourse systems.

8.2.2 Text 5 and LEXICAL COHESION

In the LEXICAL COHESION analysis of Text 5, in Figure 8.4, the major lexical strings which emerge are those of ‘search’ (*C*’s and *S*’s search for the mobile), of ‘item to be purchased’ (the mobile), of ‘prices’ (the prices of mobiles on display), and finally of ‘size’ (the various sizes of the mobiles).

The ‘search’ string, first of all, seems to extend from AA to *S* and even further to *R* (1–27). Since its range seems to extend over three elements, one might conclude that this string is not indicative of the boundaries of generic structure of Text 5. But when one follows the items included in the string, one gets a relatively clear picture of the activity sequence taking place in AA, *S* and *R*. The ‘search’ string includes the items *browse*(1), *look*(3), *see*(5), *take out*(9) *take out*(10), *take*, in the sense of ‘buy’ (26) and *have*, in the sense of ‘buy’ (27). The activity sequence can be expressed as follows: *C* browses around—*C* then looks at some mobiles—*C* asks to see a mobile—*S* takes the mobile out—*C* decides to buy the mobile (cf. the expectancy sequences in Chapter 5). It is possible to relate the different kinds of processes that establish the activity sequence to the generic structure elements which mark Text 5 as a text of the genre of service encounters. For example, the lexical item *take out* implies *S*’s Compliance. Let us follow this logic from one item in the ‘search’ string to another and see whether the items themselves function as indicators of certain generic structure elements.

The activity sequence starts with the item *browse*(1), *S*: *you’re just browsing are you*. The function of *browse*, from *S*’s point of view, is to establish whether or not *C* needs help, i.e. it establishes *C*’s attention to *S* and thus realizes AA. The next item in the ‘search’ string is *look*(3), *C*: *I’m just looking at those mobiles*. This process, although synonymous with *browse*, is however at a more delicate level considered to be more specific than *browse*. It is also part of the experiential structure Process ^Medium (*look* ^ *mobile*) (see Halliday 1985a), expressing that *C* indeed has a specific Need in mind and is not just browsing. But *C* is not yet sure which of the mobiles interests her most. Once the interest is expressed, *S* can comply: *I’ll take that one out*(9). The lexical item *take out* enters the string twice, as it is repeated in (10). These items function as indicators of the realization of *S*’s Compliance to *C*’s Need. Then there is a long gap until the next cohesive items in the string appear, *take*(26) and *have*(27). Both these items indicate a change in the activity—*C* wanting to buy the mobile. *R*, the decision to purchase the mobile, is realized. The activity sequencing of the lexical items in this string thus suggests that *browse* functions as an indicator of the realization of AA. *Look* and *see* point out the

'size'	'prices'	'mobiles'	'search'	GS	TEXT 5 (shop)
PARTICULAR(2) rep. PARTICULAR(6)		MOBILES(3) non-tax.: nuclear GO-ROUND(12) co-hyp. ROCKY(17) co-hyp. FOUR-FIFTY(15) rep. SMALL(17) syn. LITTLE(17) ant. BIGGER(19)	BROWSE(1) syn. LOOK(3) syn. SEE(5) non-tax.: activity expectancy TAKE OUT(9) rep. TAKE OUT(10) non-tax.: activity expectancy GO-ROUND(12) co-hyp. ROCKY(17) co-hyp. FOUR-FIFTY(15) rep. SMALL(17) syn. LITTLE(17) ant. BIGGER(19)	AA	1 S: you're just browsing are you [C turns to S] 2 is there anything particular you wanted or— 3 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles 4 S: okay 5 hm which one did you er ... would you like to see out ... 6 any particular one there ✓ [the mobiles are in the show window] [2 secs] 7 C: the diver ... 8 S: the diver ... 9 I'll take that one out [9 secs—S bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor, but cannot find the right one] 10 S: I'll take one out of the window ... for you [5 secs—S takes the mobile out] 11 S: this is the one [S puts the mobile on the counter] 12 he just goes round really ... like that [S gives the mobile a push] 13 C: hm ... 14 how much is it 15 S: four fifty [5 secs—C keeps looking at the mobile] 16 C: er ... hm 17 S: all of them are four fifty except the small little rocky one 18 that's three fifty 19 and the others are bigger 20 C: you've only got the golfer the tennis player and the diver 21 S: yes
				S	

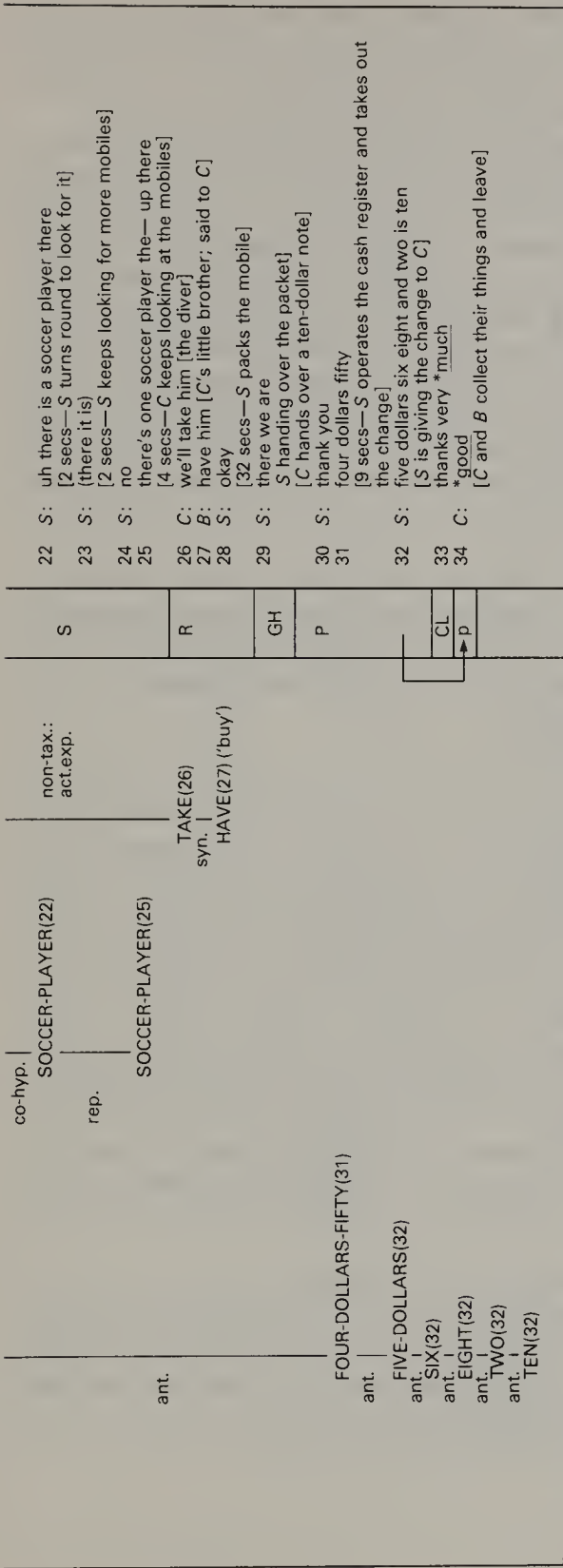


Figure 8.4 Text 5 and LEXICAL COHESION

realization of the Need in SERVICE, whereas *take out* indicates that the Compliance is taking place. Finally, *take* and *have*, which both have the experiential structure of Process ^Medium (*take* ^mobile; *have* ^mobile), seem to represent the on-going realization of the element R in lexical terms.

The 'item to be purchased' string begins with an indexical item, *mobile*, C: *I'm just looking at those mobiles*(3) (see Figure 8.4). But then the string splits into two. Only *mobiles*(3) and the description of what they do, *go-round*(12) and *rocky*(17), can, strictly speaking, be seen to belong to the register of 'shopping'. Items like *diver*(7, 8), *golfer*(20), etc. suggest a different FIELD orientation for the text—that of 'sport' and not that of 'souvenirs' or 'presents' bought in a shop. But through instantial lexical relationships with the item *mobiles*(3) the FIELD of 'sport' is brought into the FIELD of 'shopping' to establish the different types of mobiles sold in souvenir shops. Such instantial relationships between lexical items are largely responsible for quite unexpected FIELD realizations which may occur in texts. An illustration of how the FIELD of 'sports' combines with the FIELD of 'shopping' via the items bought in shops can be illustrated with a partial network in Figure 8.5.

The fact that the string 'item to be purchased' begins where SERVICE has been hypothesized to begin (3), and finishes where S has been hypothesized to finish (25), convincingly indicates the realization of S in (3–25). Once the Need and Compliance have been realized, it is no longer necessary to refer to the mobiles in the Need and Compliance.

The last significant string is the 'prices' string. Its range is (15–32), thus spanning four generic structure elements, S, R, GH and P. However, immediately in Figure 8.4 one notices that no items which belong to this string appear in the realizational ranges of R and GH. The strings simply extend over these units, since the analytical principle is followed according to which an item is linked with the last preceding item in the text. More precisely, the items in the 'prices' string seem to appear in the Compliance of S, and then, after a long gap, in the element P. It is not surprising that the Compliance should include lexical items which express 'prices'. Often, customers ask what various items, which the server is showing them, cost. Therefore the items *four-fifty*(15), *four-fifty*(17) and *three-fifty*(18) signal the realization of the Compliance part of S. The long gap between the 'prices' items of the Compliance and of P seems to indicate that these two groupings of the lexical items in the 'prices' strings show realizations of different generic structure elements. The first grouping refers to the realization of S and the latter to the realization of P.

What the lexical strings in Text 5 verify is the realizations of AA, S, R and P. The only elements whose realizations are not at all supported by the LEXICAL COHESION analysis of Text 5 are GH and CL. That no support for GH is found comes as no surprise, since it is an element largely realized non-verbally. Since CL is realized only by line (33), it is also not surprising that lexical cohesion does not play a role in the CL realization either.

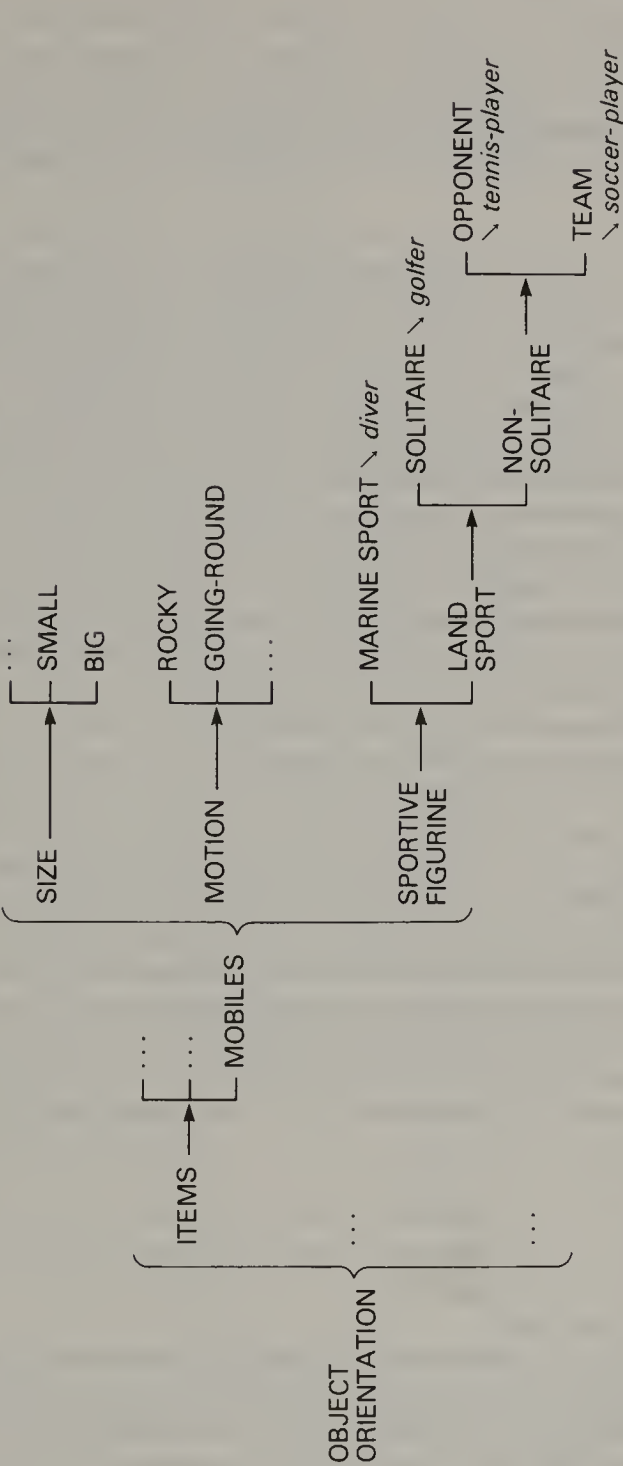


Figure 8.5 A partial network representing the infiltration of the FIELD 'sports' into the FIELD 'shopping'

8.2.3 Text 5 and REFERENCE

What then of reference chains in Text 5? The REFERENCE analysis in Figure 8.6 shows that the reference chains, which track down the major participants in Text 5, are: 'mobiles', 'window', 'C' and 'S'. All the chains extend almost all through the text. The organization of the reference items in the chains seems to support the realization of elements S, R and GH, but not of AA, P and CL.

The 'mobiles' chain, first of all, extends from (3) to (25), thus ranging from the hypothesized S to R. The chain starts with an exophoric item *those* (mobiles) (3), which refers to the items on display in the show window. This item marks the beginning of S, more precisely the beginning of the Need in S. But, as *C* does not want to buy all of the mobiles on display, the item to be purchased has to be referred to more specifically. *S*, in fact, tries to help *C* to focus her interest by (6), *S: any particular one there [tone 2]*, which involves two kinds of phoric systems (see Chapter 6). *Any* in the nominal group is a [presenting] reference item, whereas *one* is a [redundancy] item. When the actual limitation of the purchase is made, i.e. *C* asks for *the diver* (7), *the* in this nominal group refers endophorically to *any* in (6). But *the diver* is more 'remotely' related to *those* (mobiles) in (3) through a redundancy reference item *one* in the nominal group *any particular one*. Note that the following items in the reference chain 'mobiles' refer to the participant 'diver' as a type, not as a particular token from the group of mobiles on show. The token *diver* is established through an instantial relationship in (11), *S: that's the one*. Here *the one* is the type and *that* is the token. In other words, what *S* is saying is: the mobile I have just put in front of you is the type of mobile that you want.

The Compliance with *C*'s Need, the action of getting the mobile out, is followed by an Addition to Compliance, which describes how the mobile operates. The shift is distinctly marked by the shift from type to token, established by an instantial reference relationship discussed above. Later on in SERVICE, other types of mobiles are referred to again, as *C* tries to make up her mind whether to take the token presented to her or whether she would prefer another type (see Figure 8.6). The diver as a token is not referred to again until in R, where *C* decides to buy it, *C: we'll have him* (26). *Him* refers back to *it* in (14). Since the gap between the reference items in the 'mobiles' chain is quite long, it can justifiably be said that the items occurring in this chain up to (22) signal the realization of SERVICE, whereas the items in (26–27) mark the realization of the element R. Once the decision about the purchase has been made, it is not necessary to refer to the item purchased again and thus the 'mobile' chain ends.

The reference chain labelled 'window' only tracks down the location of the mobiles during the element SERVICE. *There in S's is there anything particular you wanted or—* (2) is naturally structural and therefore does not track down a location participant. The first *there* in (25) is also structural, but the second *there* refers to the 'window' as a participant, *S: there's one soccer player up—up there*.

The element GH is reflected in the reference chains in (29) in the item *we*

in *S*'s *there we are*. It is this joining of '*S*' and '*C*'-chains which appears to point to the realization of GH in the service encounter genre. The second to last element as well as the last element, i.e. P and CL, are not signalled in any way by the reference chains.

As the analysis in Figure 8.6 shows, some justification for the hypothesized chunking of Text 5 into generic structure elements can be found through REFERENCE structures, but reference chains alone do not explicitly project the hypothesized organization of Text 5.

8.2.4 Text 5 CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING

The analysis of CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING realizations are presented in Figure 8.7.

However, these analyses do not seem to indicate the presented generic structure organization of Text 5 clearly. There is only one explicit conjunction *and*, which links (18) and (19): *that's three fifty and the others are bigger*. In addition to this additive conjunction, there is only one explicit CONTINUITY item, *just*, which appears in (1) (3) and (12). As discussed in Chapter 7, the external conjunctions and the continuity items are not considered to function as frames in the BOUNDARY MARKING. There is one frame, though, in Text 5: the minor clause *okay* (4). It carries the function of a †IntrFr, marking the intrinsic boundary between the Need and Compliance in SERVICE. But here once again the dynamics of interaction intervene. When *S* actually starts to comply, she notices that she does not yet know which of the mobiles *C* wants. So *S* has to 'backtrack' and ask for a Specification of Need, *S*: *hm which one did you er—would you like to see out* (5) *any particular one there [tone 2]* (6). The second *okay* in (28) does not function as a frame, but carries the function of A1:A (see Figure 8.7).

As the analysis of CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING has shown, no conclusions concerning any of the hypothesized generic structure elements can be drawn. These systems do not seem to play an important role in Text 5 at all. Probably the relative shortness and the stereotyped nature of the encounter explains this fact best. The shorter and the more stereotyped the interaction, the more obvious is the organization of the text in terms of generic structure and its realization.

8.3 TEXT 11—A TRAVEL AGENCY TEXT

In Text 11 *C* enters a travel agency where three agents are working. *C* looks around, trying to decide which agent to approach for help. The *S* working behind the counter solves *C*'s problem by calling out to him. *C* approaches this *S* and asks him about the travel from Canberra to Sydney by bus. But the bus times do not seem to suit *C*, so he proceeds to inquire about the flight departures. Once a suitable flight is found, *S* proceeds to make a booking. This involves writing out some personal information about *C* on the ticket. Before handing the ticket to *C*, *S* needs to confirm the booking by phone with

'C'		'S'	'mobiles'	'window'	GS	TEXT 5 (shop)
YOU(1)-exoph. YOU(2) I(3)	YOU(10)	I(9)-exo. I(10)	THOSE(3)-exo. ↑ RD. WHICH ONE (5) ↑ RD. (any particular one)(6) THE(diver)(7) ↑ THE(diver)(8) ↑ THAT ONE(9) ↑ inst. ONE(10) ↑ THE ONE(11) ↑ THIS(11) ↑ HE(12) ↑ IT(14) ALL OF THEM (17) ↑ THE OTHERS (19) ↑ THE (golfer) (20) ↑ YOU(20) BR. THE(small ...) ONE(17) ↑ RL. THAT(18) ↑ RL. BIGGER(19) ↑ THE (tennis-player) (20) THE(diver) (20)	THERE(6)-exo. ↑ THE(window)(10)	AA	1 S: you're just browsing are you [C turns to S] 2 is there anything particular you wanted or— 3 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles 4 S: okay 5 hm which one did you er ... would you like to see out ... 6 any particular one there ✓ [the mobiles are in the show window] [2 secs] 7 C: the diver ... 8 S: the diver ... 9 I'll take that one out [9 secs—S bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor, but cannot find the right one] I'll take one out of the window ... for you 10 S: [5 secs—S takes the mobile out] 11 S: this is the one [S puts the mobile on the counter] 12 he just goes round really ... like that [S gives the mobile a push] 13 C: hm ... 14 how much is it 15 S: four fifty [5 secs—C keeps looking at the mobile] 16 C: er ... hm 17 S: all of them are four fifty except the small little rocky one 18 that's three fifty 19 and the others are bigger 20 C: you've only got the golfer the tennis player and the diver 21 S: yes
					S	

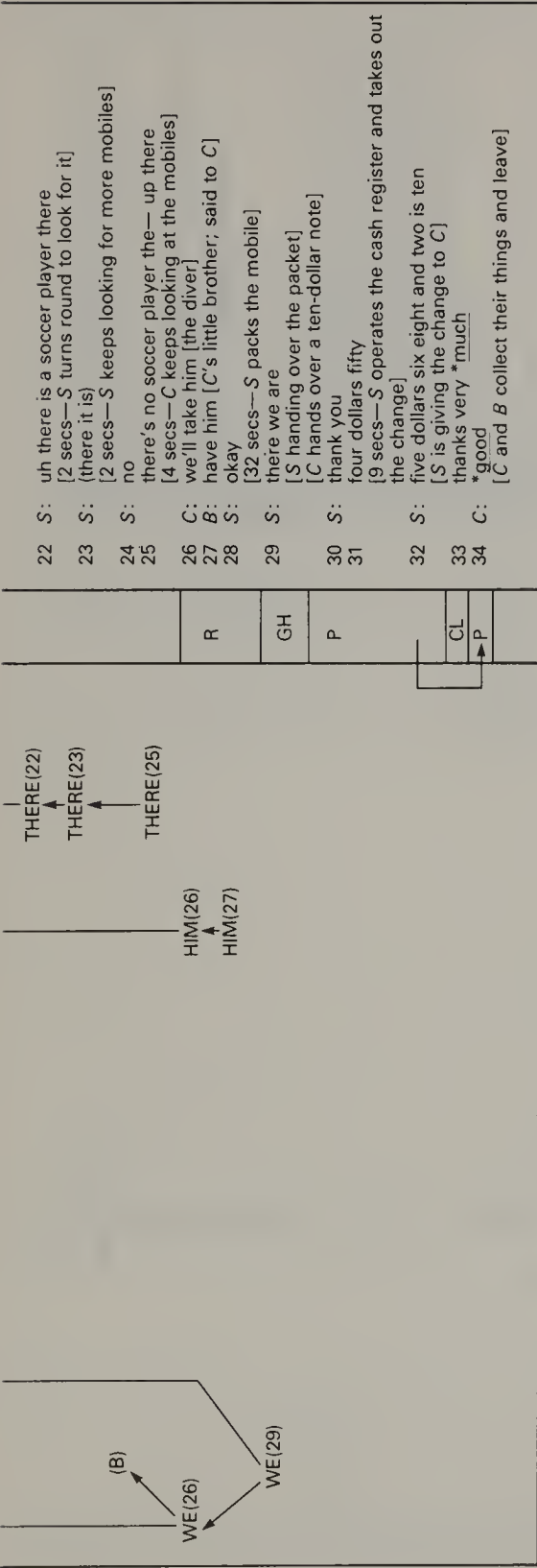


Figure 8.6 Text 5 and REFERENCE

INTERNAL		EXTERNAL	GS	TEXT 5(shop)
continuity \ just(1)	— 1		AA	1 S: you're just browsing are you [C turns to S] is there anything particular you wanted or—
			S	2 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles 3 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles 4 S: okay 5 hm which one did you er ... would you like to see out ... 6 any particular one there / [the mobiles are in the show window] [2 secs]
cont. \ just(3)	— 2 — 3 ↑IntrFr(4)↑ 5			7 C: the diver 8 S: the diver ... 9 I'll take that one out [9 secs—S bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor, but cannot find the right one] I'll take one out of the window ... for you
				10 S: [5 secs—S takes the mobile out] 11 S: this is the one [S puts the mobile on the counter] 12 he just goes round really ... like that [S gives the mobile a push] 13 C: hm ... 14 how much is it 15 S: four fifty [5 secs—C keeps looking at the mobile]
cont. \ just(12)	— 11 — 12			16 C: er ... hm 17 S: all of them are four fifty except the small little rocky one 18 that's three fifty 19 and the others are bigger 20 C: you've only got the golfer the tennis player and the diver
				↑ add. \ and(19) ↑ 19 20

21	S:	yes
22	S:	uh there is a soccer player there
23	S:	[2 secs—S turns round to look for it]
24	S:	(there it is)
25	S:	[2 secs—S keeps looking for more mobiles]
26	S:	no
27	S:	there's one soccer player the— up there
28	S:	[4 secs—C keeps looking at the mobiles]
29	S:	we'll take him [the diver]
30	S:	have him [C's little brother; said to C]
31	S:	okay
32	S:	[32 secs—S packs the mobile]
33	S:	there we are
34	S:	S handing over the packet
35	S:	[C hands over a ten-dollar note]
36	S:	thank you
37	S:	four dollars fifty
38	S:	[9 secs—S operates the cash register and takes out the change]
39	S:	five dollars six eight and two is ten
40	S:	[S is giving the change to C]
41	S:	thanks very *much
42	S:	*good
43	S:	[C and B collect their things and leave]

Figure 8.7 Text 5 and CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING

another agent handling reservations in the head office. When the flight is confirmed, *S* gives *C* information about the ticket and how to get to the airport. Finally, *C* pays for the ticket, receives the change, thanks *S* for the goods-&-services provided and leaves. Above is a rough description of the activities in Text 11 (see the Appendix). The linguistic realizations in the discourse structures in Text 11 at least partly capture the described unfolding of activities.

8.3.1 Text 11 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

The exchange structures generated by the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE choices in Text 11 are presented in Figure 8.8. The commentary will highlight how the realized exchanges in Text 11 reflect the generic organization of the text.

To begin with, the moves in Exchange 1 are attention-orientating and thus realise AA, *S*: *yes [tone 2](1)*—{ *C turns to S*}. In (2) the activity seems to change, *S*: *can I help you(2)*—*C*: *yes(3)*. *S*'s offer of service to *C* and its acceptance realise SB. The next line (4), *C*: *are there buses that go to Sydney uh . . . about midday*, again signals a change in the activity. *C*, the initiator of Exchange 3 (4–11), demands information from *S* and receives information about the bus operations. Exchange 3 is a knowledge-orientated exchange which realizes the nuclear exchange of SERVICE I. In Exchange 4 (12–17) and Exchange 5 (18–19), both of which are *S*-initiated K1-slots, further information about the buses is supplied. These exchanges realize *S*-initiated Additions to Compliances (see Chapter 4). But naturally also, the other discourse analyses must support the hypothesis that Exchanges 3, 4 and 5 jointly realize SI (this will be discussed shortly).

In Exchange 6 the experiential FIELD choices seem to have changed from those in Exchanges 3, 4 and 5. There is a shift from bus timetable inquiry to the flight timetable inquiry. It seems that the FIELD network which captures the options of means of transport has been re-entered, since none of the bus options have suited *C*. A change in FIELD usually functions as a signal of transition from one generic structure element to another. But can such a change in FIELD orientation be detected from the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realizations? The answer must be negative. As far as the exchange structure in Exchange 6 is concerned, it could just as well function as an Addition to Compliance. It is here that support for a shift from one element to another must come from the other discourse structures realized (see the LEXICAL COHESION and REFERENCE structures below).

The range of SERVICE II seems to extend to Exchanges 6, 7 and 8 (see Figure 8.8). But after Exchange 8 the activity changes from knowledge-orientated exchanges to an action-orientated exchange. Exchange 9 is about the seating situation in a particular flight to Sydney. As signalled by *please*, the first move requires a 'linguistic service' as a response in Exchange 9 (A2 [K2]), *C*: *is there any economies on the 10:55 then please(29)*. Also *C*'s *okay(33)*, a typical A2f in action-orientated exchange, points to the action function of Exchange 9. The linguistic service, i.e. the promise to provide a seat for *C* on

the flight, is performed by moves in (30–32). This change in the nature of activity in the text suggests that Exchange 9 starts a new element, SERVICE III. The exchange is nuclear and the only exchange in the element, since after Exchange 9 the activity changes again. Naturally, further support also has to be found for distinguishing Exchange 9 as SIII by other discourse structures in Text 11.

Once it has been established that there is a seat for *C* on the flight, it is up to *C* to decide whether he wants to get on the flight or not. *C*'s A2 *I'll book it now thanks* (34) is a specific decision and *S* then proceeds with the booking in (35). *S* starts eliciting the information needed for the ticket, at the same time writing the information on the ticket. The several K2 ^ K1 exchanges which follow *C*'s A2 make up the activity of BOOKING. Exchanges 10a–10f (35–51) elicit such information as *C*'s identity, a way to contact him, whether he intends to buy a single or a return ticket, and how he intends to pay for his purchase. These exchanges are best treated as rankshifted exchanges which as a whole function as filling A1:R (the writing out of the ticket) and respond *in toto* to *C*'s A2 in (34). Since BOOKING is only typical of the service encounters where the FIELD choice is 'travel', this element must be generated in the flowchart by a side programme (see Chapter 3).

The next element is CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING and it is realized in (52–73). This element cannot be analysed here since only one party, namely *S*, has been recorded. *C* seldom plays any part in the realization of this element, except for such minor matters as those exemplified in (64–66). Linguistically, though, this element is most interesting. Firstly, as the linguistic realizations show, the TENOR choices have changed for this element: *S* now addresses another *S*, a travel agent. Note, for example, that *S* speaks about *flight 406* (55), instead of referring to the time of departure of the flight, *10:55*, as he did when talking to *C* (28). All the information *S* gives the reservations agent is 'telegraphic'. One could say that this is an example of a 'simplified', 'restricted' or 'insiders' talk'. The information in this element seems to reflect in its organization the substructure of BOOKING, as it is realized in Exchanges 10a–10f. Certainly this element is well worth a close study, but recordings must then also be available of what the reservations clerk says and this has not been possible in this study.

The next and the last of the register-specific elements generated by the flowchart side programmes in Text 11 is TICKET EXPLANATION. This element is realized by Exchange 11, which is a knowledge-orientated exchange initiated by *S*. Here *S*'s moves in K1-slots stand in a move complex relationship to one another (1 ^ =2): *S*: *that's okay* (75) *10:55 Canberra Sydney tomorrow* (76). *C* thinks *S* has finished and utters *okay* (77). This *okay* is interpreted as a frame and thus it does not play a role in the exchange structure. Another alternative would be to interpret *okay* as *C*'s follow-up, K2f. But K2f in the knowledge-orientated exchange is not typically realized by *okay*. Consequently, a frame function interpretation is more plausible. Since it has been a frame which has been anticipated too early, *S* actually continues to complete his move complex (+3 ^ +4): *into Sydney 11:30* (78) *and if you're catching a bus into the city it's ten past ten* (79).

Grammar:	Speech Function:	Exchange:	GS:	TEXT 11 (travel agency) (1)
minor NV	cl	1 Att	AA: 1	1 S: yes ✓
p-inter. decl.:ell.	o	2 RA1t	SB: 2	2 S: [C turns to S] can I help you
p-inter.	ao	3 A2		3 C: yes
decl.:ell.	q	4 K2	S I:	4 are there buses that go to Sydney uh ... about midday
decl.	rsq	5 K1	3,4,5	5 no
decl.	s	6 K1		6 there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer
decl.	s	7 K1		7 they have the uh main ... control
decl.	s	8 K1		8 they're the only ones that operate ...
decl.	s	9 K1		9 and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon
plg. minor	—	10 K2f		10 C: uhuh
decl.	—	11 K1f		11 S: yeah ...
decl.	s	12 K1		12 Greyhound do operate
decl.	s	13 K1		13 but they can't carry you
minor	—	14 K1		14 they've no traffic rights Canberra Sydney
minor	—	15 K2f		15 C: yeah
minor	—	16 K2f		16 I see
decl.	—	17 K1f		17 S: yeah
plg.	s	18 K1		18 it's only if you're going interstate then *they can they could carry you
wh-inter. minor	—	19 cf		19 *uhuh
minor	q	20 K2		20 if you're going through to Brisbane
minor	—	21 cf		21 what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow tomorrow ...
decl.	—	22 cly		22 er morning or afternoon now ✓
decl.	rsq	23 rcly		23 uh midmorning early afternoon
		24 K1	S II: 6,7,8	24 uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15 ... and a 10:55 ... and nothing then until 3:40 tomorrow [4 secs]

minor decl.	ex	7 — EX	S II	25 C:	10:55 [C mumbles to himself]
decl.	s	8 — { K1		26 S:	we normally have one at ten past one
decl.	s	9 — { K1		27	but it's out earlier tomorrow
p-inter. decl.:ell.	q	9 — A2[K2]		28 C:	it's 10:55
decl.	rsq	9 — A1:LS[K1		29 S:	is there any economies on the 10:55 then please
decl.	s	9 — (K1]		30	yeah
minor	—	9 — A2f		31	there's no problem there
decl.	s	10 — A2		32	we can put you on
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10 — A1:R[K1		33 C	okay
decl.:ell.	rsq	10 — K2		34	I'll book it now thanks
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10a — K2		35 S:	what's the surname then
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10b — K1		36 C:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10c — K2		37 S:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10d — K2		38 C:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10e — K1		39 S:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10f — K1		40 C:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10g — K1		41 S:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10h — K1		42 C:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10i — K1		43 S:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10j — K1		44 C:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10k — K1		45 S:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10l — K1		46 S:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10m — K1		47 C:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10n — K1		48 S:	uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name]
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10o — K1		49	okay
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10p — K1		50 C:	cash cheque bankcard /
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10q — K1		51 S:	cash
wh-inter. decl.:ell.	q	10r — K1			[26 secs—S picks up to call the reservations and dials]

Grammar: Speech Function: Exchange:	TEXT 11 (travel agency) 2)
[not analysed for CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE]	GS: CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING 52 C: hello ... hello ... hello [S hangs up] [16 secs—S dials again] 53 C: yes 54 er Tom White Marsden here Christine ... 55 could you sell me please one economy four o six [the flight no.] Canberra Sydney tomorrow Friday eight February please 56 [9 secs] it's slow is it ✓ [5 secs] 57 no 58 it's single one way only ... 59 the name Jones 60 that's J for John O, N, E, S 61 Mr A for Allen [6 secs] 62 no no phone number 63 only an address 64 it's sixty-five Linfield Court 65 Street 66 er Lin- Linfield Street sorry 67 Linfield Street in Gilmore [11 secs] 68 and the ticket number seven eight o three eight two three 69 [20 secs—S rips the ticket receipt from the ticket book] 70 okay 71 that's it then thanks very much then ...

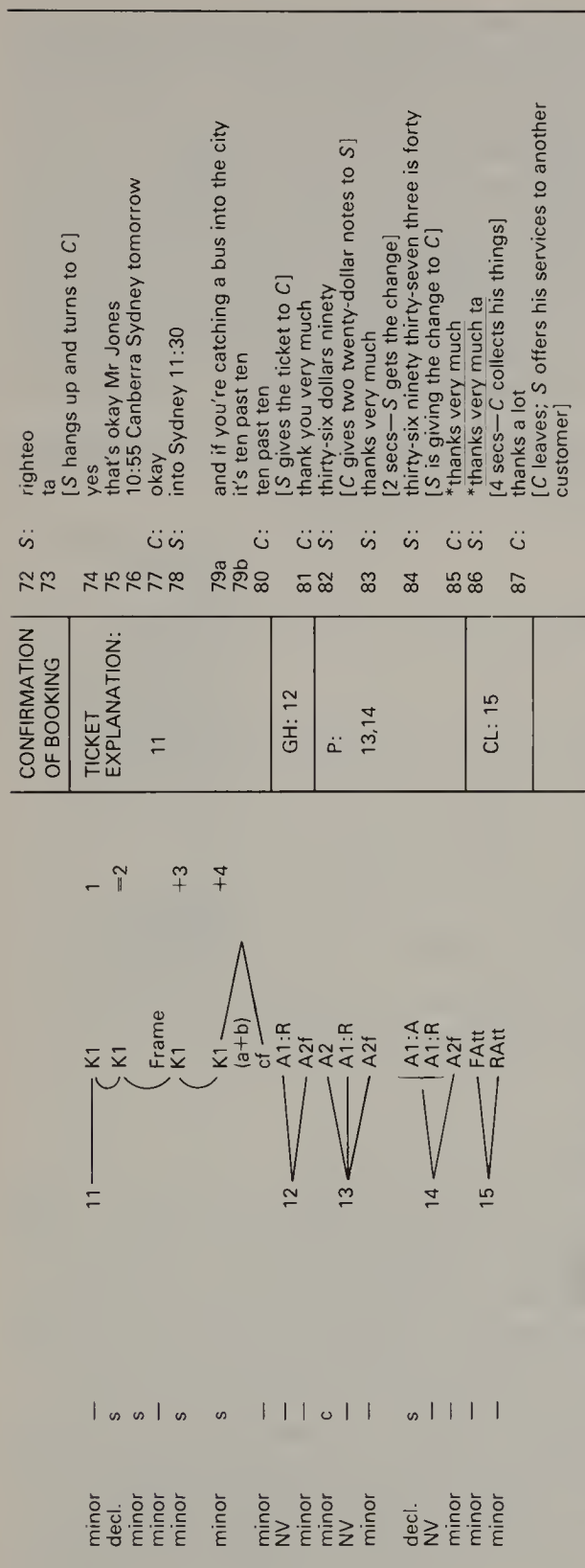


Figure 8.8 Text 11 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

After Exchange 11 the activity changes once again. *S* hands the ticket over to *C* and *C* acknowledges the handover with *thank you very much* (81). The non-verbal action and its verbal acknowledgement make up an action-orientated exchange which consists of slots A1:R ^ A2f. Thus, Exchange 12 realizes the element GH. In (82) *S* makes a request for payment in A2, *S*: *thirty-six dollars ninety*. The slot is followed by *C*'s action of handing over some money to *S*, a A1:R, acknowledged by *S* with a A2f (83): *thanks very much*. These moves make up Exchange 13. The following Exchange 14, captures the activity of handing over the change to *C* and is made up of slots A1:A ^ A1:R ^ A2f. The activities captured in Exchanges 13 and 14 realize PAY on the genre plane. The last lines in Text 11, *S*'s *thanks very much ta* (86) and *C*'s *thanks a lot* (87) is an attention-closing exchange, realized by moves FAtt ^ RFAtt, which realize CL.

In summary, the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realizations, the exchange structures, suggest the following generic structure for Text 11:

GENERIC STRUCTURE	Text 11	CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE
AA	1 + NV	Exchange 1
SB	2-3	Exchange 2
SI	4-19	Exchanges 3, 4, 5
SII	20-28	Exchanges 6, 7, 8
SIII	29-33	Exchange 9
BOOKING	34-51	Exchange 10
CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING	52-73	—
TICKET EXPLANATION	74-80	Exchange 11
GH	NV + 81	Exchange 12
P	82 + NV + 83-84 + NV + 85	Exchanges 13, 14
CL	86-87	Exchange 15

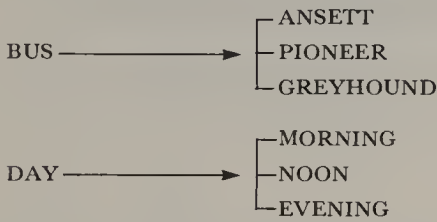
Whether other discourse system realizations support this generic structure will be seen in the next sections.

8.3.2 Text 11 and LEXICAL COHESION

The LEXICAL COHESION analysis of Text 11 is presented in Figure 8.9. This figure shows that the lexical strings are long and extend over several of the hypothesized elements. Thus, again, the ranges of the lexical strings cannot alone be correlated to the hypothesized generic structure of Text 11. But if the density and the types of items which appear in the strings are also considered, certain conclusions may be drawn from the lexical structure of this text which support the hypothesized generic structure given in the previous section.

As the lexical strings do not begin until in (4), no support for the first two hypothesized elements, AA and SB, is found in the lexical strings. But in (4) four major lexical strings begin: 'transport', 'transport activities', 'destination' and 'section of day'. The range of the first SERVICE element, SI, has been presented as (4)-(19). The 'transport' string offers evidence which supports

that these lines realize SI. It begins with an indexical element, *buses* (4), which introduces the FIELD orientation in the element. The subsequent items, *Ansett* (6), *Pioneer* (6) and *Greyhound* (12) all stand in co-hyponym relationships to one another and of course are all hyponyms of *buses*. The items 7:30 and 5:30 in (9) are included in the 'transport' string, although, strictly speaking, they are Qualifiers. But they can also be interpreted to stand for particular buses, i.e. 'an Ansett bus at 7:30' equals 'a 7:30 Ansett bus'. The following features from the two systems are chosen below [Ansett] and [morning]. The meaning is realized instantially by any of the Ansett buses that fit into that time sector, a 7:30 bus being one of them:



When the types of buses have been established, they do not appear in the text again.

The next item that appears in the lexical string 'transport' is *flights* (20). This seems to be related, not to *traffic-rights* (14) and not to *Greyhound* (12), but back to *buses* (4) as a co-hyponym. The fact that it relates back to *buses* seems to indicate a shift in the text. A new FIELD orientation has taken place and this chosen new FIELD orientation is equal to buses as means of transport. This offers a justification of distinguishing SII from SI, beginning in (20), *C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow*. Again *flights* (20) is followed by an instantially related lexical item, 9:30 (24), which is followed by several of its co-hyponyms, as *S* goes through all the possible flights which *C* could take. The introduction of flights goes on until (28), where SII ends.

Once the selection of the means of transport is made, it becomes less necessary to use lexical items to refer to it in the 'transport' string. The 10:55 flight occasionally appears in the string, but less frequently. The fact that it is repeated in (29), *C: is there any economies on the 10:55 then please*, may indicate the transition from SII to SIII. This latter element is concerned with goods & services rather than with information. It is not surprising therefore that the items, which have been so frequent in SI and SII, now stop.

BOOKING is clearly reflected in the lexical structure of Text 11 by the short strings 'name', 'phone', 'address' and 'method of pay'. The strings 'name', 'phone' and 'address' are replayed in the strings of CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING. TICKET EXPLANATION seems to recapitulate the information negotiated in the previous S elements in its lexical string sections. The element P is clearly represented in Text 11 by a separate string 'price', whereas GH and CL are not represented in the lexical strings at all.

In summing up, in Text 11 the elements most clearly distinguished through the analyses of LEXICAL COHESION are SERVICE I, SERVICE II, BOOKING, CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING and PAY.

	rep.	TOMORROW(27)	syn.	co-hyp. 10:55(25) 13:10(26) 10:55(28) 10:55 non-tax: nucl.	S II	25 C: 26 S: 27 S: 28 C: 29 S: 30 S: 31 C: 32 C: 33 C:	10:55 [C mumbles to himself] we normally have one at ten past one but it's out earlier tomorrow it's 10:55 is there any economies on the 10:55 then please yeah there's no problem there we can put you on okay
SURNAME(35) inst. JONES(36)							
INITIAL(37) inst. A(38) PHONE NUMBER(39)	rep.	CANBERRA(39)	hyp.		BOOKING	34 S: 35 S: 36 C: 37 S: 38 C: 39 S:	I'll book it now thanks what's the surname then uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name] [3 secs—S writes the name down] what's your initial Mr Jones A what's your phone number at home here in Canberra
ADDRESS(41) inst. 65 L.ST.(42) co-mer GILMORE(44) co-mer. GILMORE(45)				non-tax: nucl.		40 C: 41 S: 42 C: 43 S: 44 C: 45 S:	I haven't got one got an address ✓ sixty-five . . . *LInfield Street *hm [5 secs—S writes the information down] Gilmore Gilmore
mer.	rep.	rep.	SINGLE ONE-WAY(46)			46 S: 47 C: 48 S: 49 C: 50 C: 51 S:	[2 secs—S writes it down] uhm . . . just a single one way only that's right okay cash cheque bankcard ✓ cash cash [26 secs—S picks up to call the reservations and dials]
CASH(49) co-hyp. CHEQUE(49) co-hyp. BANKCARD(49) co-hyp. CASH(50) co-hyp. CASH(51)			non-tax: nucl.				

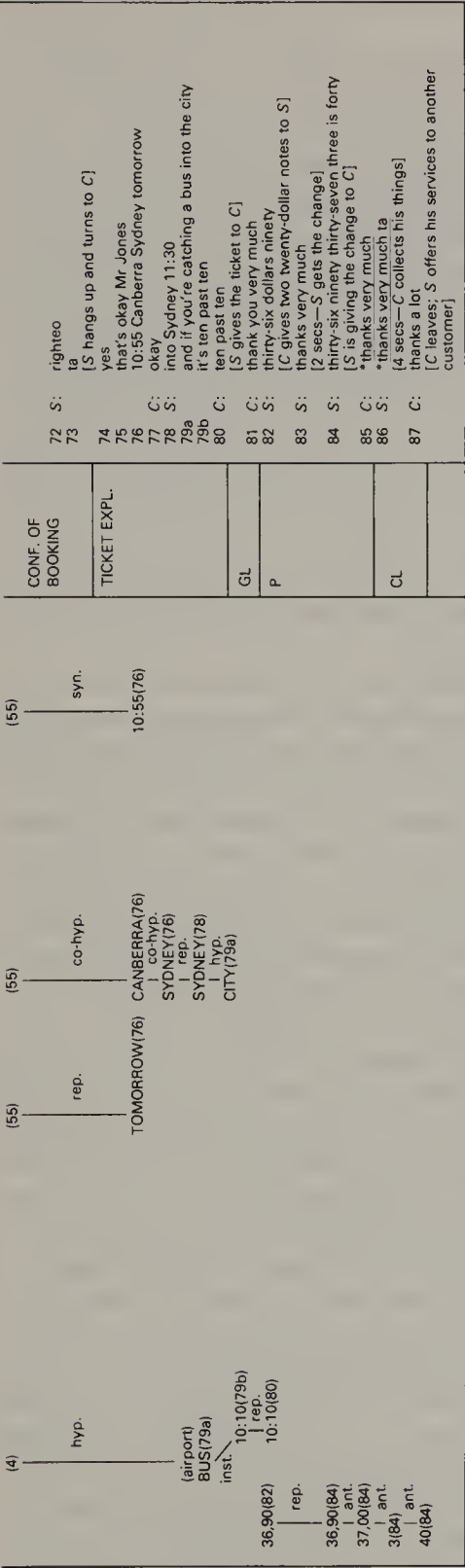


Figure 8.9 Text 11 and LEXICAL COHESION

8.3.3 Text 11 and REFERENCE

Next in Figure 8.10, REFERENCE choices in Text 11 will be examined in the light of whether they offer any support for the previously given hypothesis of generic structure of Text 11.

As can be expected, no reference items appear during the hypothesized realization of AA. In (2) two exophoric reference items appear, *I* and *you* in *C*'s *can I help you?* These items represent the beginning of two reference chains, one tracking down the participant 'S' and the other the participant 'C'. The next reference items in these chains appear quite late in the text. In (26), *S: we normally have one at ten past one*, the *we* refers both to the items in 'S'-chain and 'C'-chain in (2). The *you* in (32), *S: we can put you on* refers back to *you* in (2). There are, however, occurrences of *you* before (32), for example in (13) in *S's they can't carry you* and in (18a) in *S's it's only if you're going interstate, etc.* (see Figure 8.10). These *you*-items are considered to realize generalized REFERENCE rather than to track down the *C* participant. The interaction of 'S' and 'C' participant references in the same line (2) signals the realization point of SB in Text 11. In other words, such interpretation between two reference chains tracking down major participants may be considered significant from the point of view of generic structure of texts.

SERVICE I seems to be reflected quite clearly in the realization of REFERENCE choices in Text 11. In (4) a presenting reference *buses* appears. From there onwards *buses* seems to be implied on several occasions through instantial relationships of *Ansett* (6), *Pioneer* (6) and *Greyhound* (12) (see Figure 8.10). The participant references in chains in (4–14) reflect in an interesting way the internal organization of the element SI. The items *Ansett* (6), *Pioneer* (6), *they* (7), *they* (8) and *they* (9) represent the nuclear exchange of SI. The reference items *Greyhound* (12), *they* (13) and *they* (14) represent the first Addition to Compliance. The range, from the presenting item *buses* (4) to the last item in the formed chain, *they* in (18b), coincides with the hypothesized boundaries of SI.

SII is realized in (20–28). A new reference chain starts in (20) with a presenting group *flights*. This presenting group is referred to by several instantial items which involve presenting reference—a 9:30, etc. (see Figure 8.10). These instantial relationships are not very unlike the ones given above: *buses* = *Ansett*, *Pioneer*, *Greyhound*. Again it seems that SII involves an Addition to Compliance. This Addition is reflected by a separate chain, starting with a presenting group *one* (26). Note that the flight in question turns out to be the same flight as the one listed out by *S* before, the 10:55 flight.

SIII (29–33) is not supported by the evidence retrieved from reference chains. As can be seen, the 'flights' chain extends into S III, *the 10:55* (29). On the other hand, however, there is a new presenting group, *any economies* (29), which is referred to later on in (34). Also, there is a change from generalized reference *you* in SI and SII to the reference to the interacting individual customer. One could consider these changes as supports for the realization of SIII in (29–33), but the evidence is clearly less strong than for the two previous S elements. But, as already shown above, CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE supports distinguishing it as a separate element. Also, CONJUNCTION analysis

(see next section) seems to suggest that SIII is in fact a separate generic structure element in Text 11.

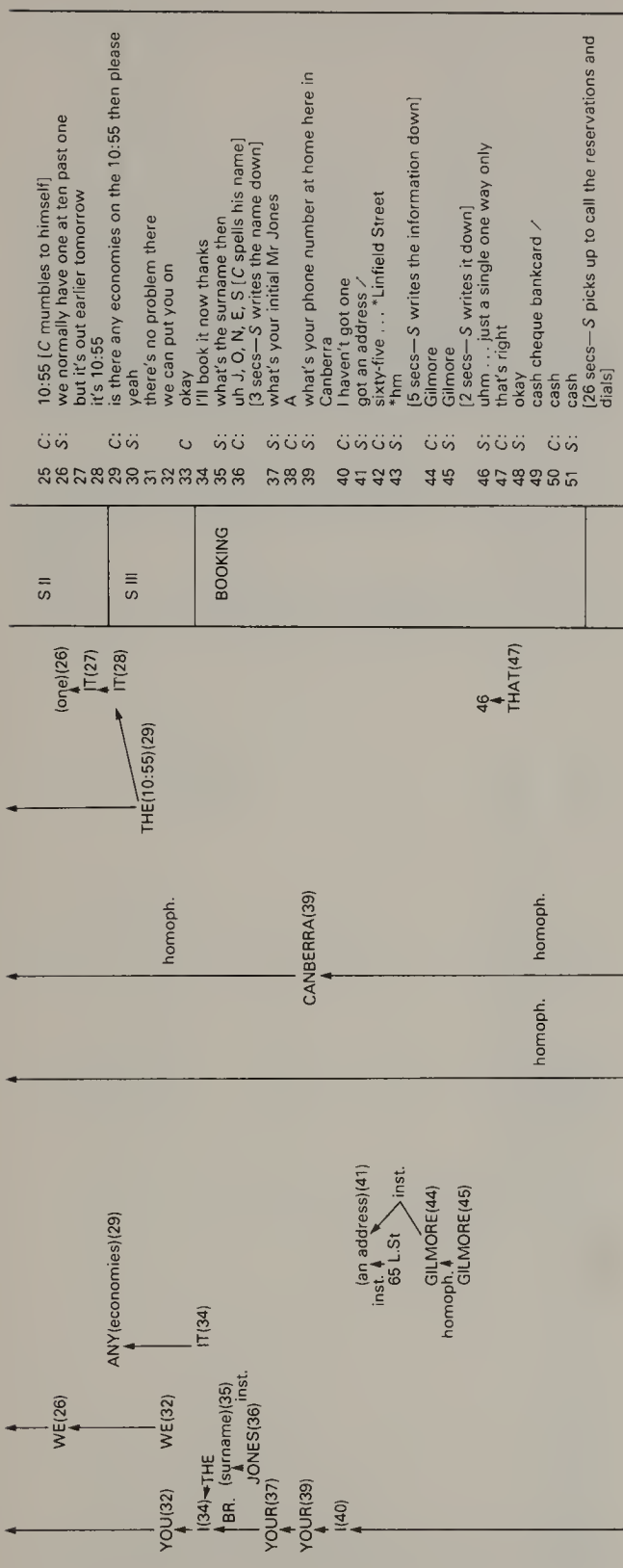
BOOKING (34–51) is characterized by the increased density of reference items in the 'C'-chain. *C* has to be referred to, as personal information about him is elicited (bridging and instantial relationships' *the surname* (35), *initial* (37) (= presenting), *phone number* (39) (= presenting) and *an address* (41) (= presenting). Such increase in density of reference items in the 'C'-chain reliably reflects the realization of BOOKING. The element of CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING (52–73) is not analysed for reference, as the other travel agent's 'wordings' have not been obtained in the recording. The element TICKET EXPLANATION (74–80) is characterized by items *Mr Jones* (75) and *you* (79), which occur again in the 'C'-chain, and the homophoric references to the places, *Canberra* (76), *the city* (79), *Sydney* (76, 78). The reference chains in the text end after TICKET EXPLANATION, and thus no evidence for the elements GH, P and CL can be retrieved from REFERENCE structures.

8.3.4 Text 11, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING

The CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING choice realizations have so far proved the least indicative of the generic structure in the previous text analysed. This may be a result of the fact that both post office and shop interactions are more routinized and context dependent than the travel agency interactions. Thus, one expects that the internal conjunctions and other items used as frames might play a slightly more important role in indicating the ongoing activity sequence in the generic structure of Text 11. This seems indeed to be the case, as far as some of the previously hypothesized elements in Text 11 are concerned.

The first conjunctive relationship which can be related to the generic structure of Text 11 appears in (20) in Figure 8.11, *S: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow*. The internal consequential conjunction *then* ranges as far back as (4), i.e. to the beginning of SI. This suggests that SII is a consequence of the preceding SI. The situation could be paraphrased as 'the departure times for buses which you presented in SI are unsuitable for me—consequently, I must proceed to ask you about other means of transport, namely flights'. Within SII there are two frames: *now* in *S's er morning or after noon now [tone 2]* (22) and *well* in *S's uh well you've got a 9:30 etc. Now* is a Forward Pointing Intrinsic Frame, marking the beginning of the Specification of Need in SII. Also, *well* is a Forward Pointing Intrinsic Frame, but it signals the initiation of the Compliance in SII. In (29) a second internal consequential conjunction *then* is found in *C's is there any economies on the 10:55 then please*. Its range extends over the total SII, i.e. back to (20). SIII is thus a consequence of SII. *C's* (29) could be paraphrased as 'you have listed all the possible flights for me—consequently I shall now proceed to choose one of the flights, if you first tell me that there will be a seat available for me'.

The next internal consequential conjunction *then* appears in (35), *S's what's the surname then*. The range of this conjunction is *C's* previous utterance: *I'll book it now thanks* (34). This *then* conjunction does not coincide with the



'C'		'S'		'places'		'airport bus'		GS		TEXT 11 (travel agency) 2)	
(40) ↓					(20) (Sydney) ↑		(39) (Canberra) ↑	CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING not analysed for REFERENCE	CONF. OF BOOKING		52 C: hello ... hello ... hello [S hangs up]
											53 C: yes [16 secs—S dials again]
											54 er Tom White Marsden here Christine ...
											55 could you sell me please one economy four o six [the flight no.] Canberra Sydney tomorrow Friday eight February please
											56 [9 secs]
											57 it's slow is it ✓ [5 secs]
											58 no
											59 it's single one way only ...
											60 the name Jones
											61 that's J for John O, N, E, S
											62 Mr A for Allen
											63 [6 secs]
											64 no no phone number
											65 only an address
											66 C it's sixty-five Linfield Court
											67 Street
											68 er Lin- Linfield Street sorry
											69 Linfield Street in Gilmore
											70 [11 secs]
											71 and the ticket number seven eight o three eight two three
											72 [20 secs—S rips the ticket receipt from the ticket book]
											73 okay
											74 that's it then
											75 thanks very much then ...

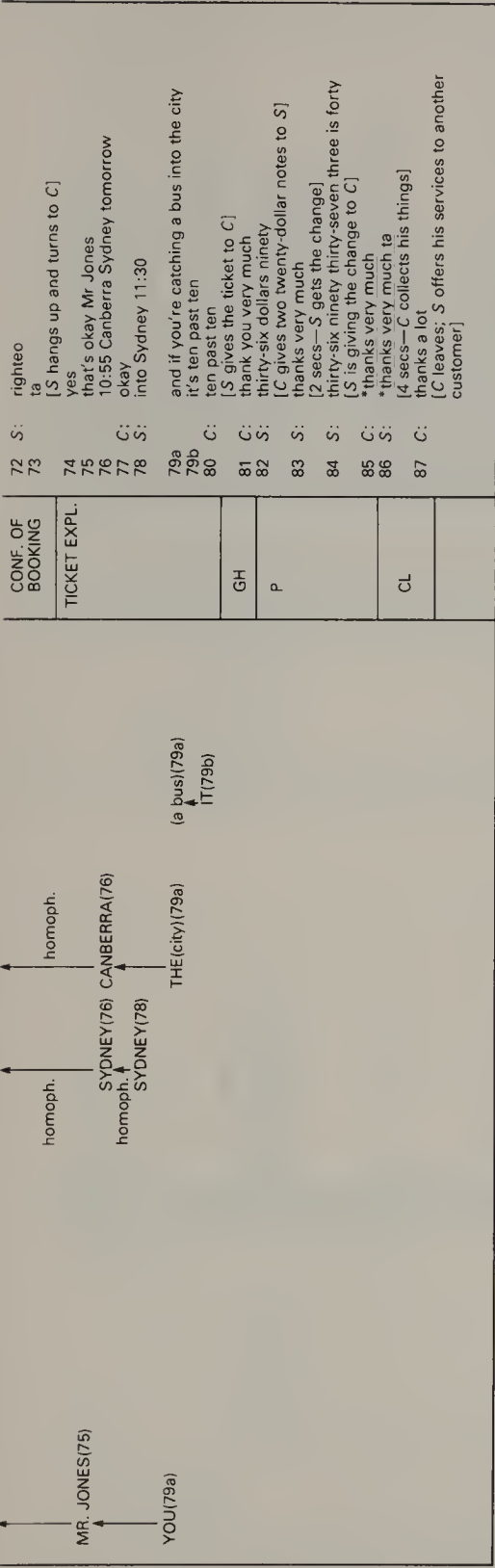
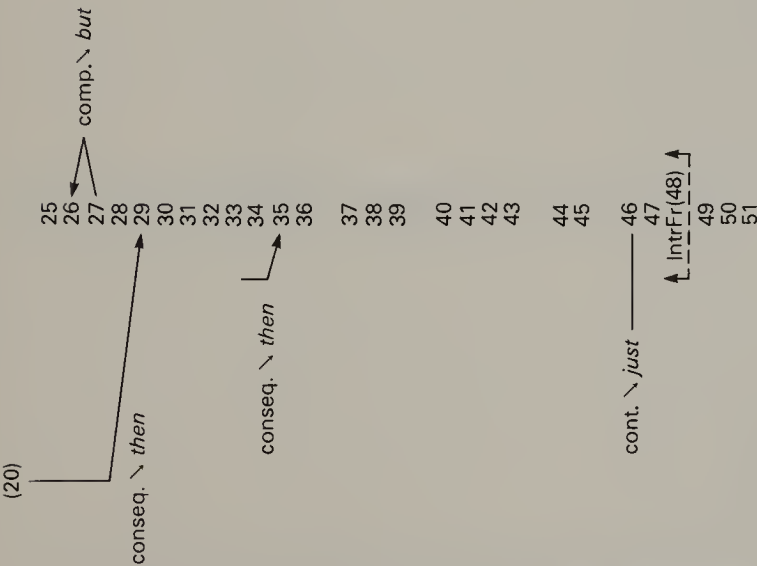


Figure 8.10 Text 11 and REFERENCE

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	GS	TEXT 11 (travel agency 1)
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18a 18b 19 20 21 22 23 24	AA SB SI SII	1 S: yes / [C turns to S] 2 S: can I help you 3 C: yes 4 are there buses that go to Sydney uh ... about midday 5 S: no 6 there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer 7 they have the uh main ... control 8 they're the only ones that operate ... 9 and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon 10 C: uhuh 11 S: yeah ... 12 Greyhound do operate 13 but they can't carry you 14 they've no traffic rights Canberra Sydney 15 C: yeah 16 I see 17 S: yeah 18a it's only if you're going interstate 18b then *they can they could carry you 19 C: *uhuh 18c S: if you're going through to Brisbane 20 C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow 21 tomorrow ... 22 er morning or afternoon now / 23 uh midmorning early afternoon 24 S: uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15 ... and a 10:55 ... and nothing then until 3:40 tomorrow [4 secs]



S II	25 C: 10:55 [C mumbles to himself] 26 S: we normally have one at ten past one 27 but it's out earlier tomorrow 28 it's 10:55
S III	29 C: is there any economies on the 10:55 then please 30 S: yeah 31 there's no problem there 32 we can put you on 33 okay 34 I'll book it now thanks 35 what's the surname then 36 uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name] [3 secs—S writes the name down]
BOOKING	37 S: what's your initial Mr Jones 38 A 39 what's your phone number at home here in Canberra 40 C: I haven't got one 41 S: got an address ✓ 42 C: sixty-five ... *Linfield Street 43 *hm [5 secs—S writes the information down] 44 Gilmore 45 Gilmore [2 secs—S writes it down] 46 S: uhm ... just a single one way only 47 C: that's right 48 S: okay 49 cash cheque bankcard ✓ 50 cash 51 cash [26 secs—S picks up to call the reservations and dials]

INTERNAL		EXTERNAL		GS	TEXT 11 (travel agency) 2)
CONF. OF BOOKING not analysed for CONJ. & BOUNDARY MARKING				CONF. OF BOOKING	
52					C: hello ... hello ...; hello [S hangs up]
53					[16 secs—S dials again]
54					C: yes
55					er Tom White Marsden here Christine ...
					could you sell me please one economy four o
					six [the flight no.] Canberra Sydney tomorrow
					Friday eight February please
56					[9 secs]
					it's slow is it ✓
57					[5 secs]
					no
58					it's single one way only ...
59					the name Jones
60					that's J for John O, N, E, S
61					Mr A for Allen
					[6 secs]
62					no no phone number
63					only an address
64					it's sixty-five Linfield Court
65					C Street
66					S: er Lin- Linfield Street sorry
67					Linfield Street in Gilmore
					[11 secs]
68					and the ticket number seven eight o three eight
					two three
					[20 secs—S rips the ticket receipt from the ticket
					book]
69					okay
70					that's it then
71					thanks very much then ...

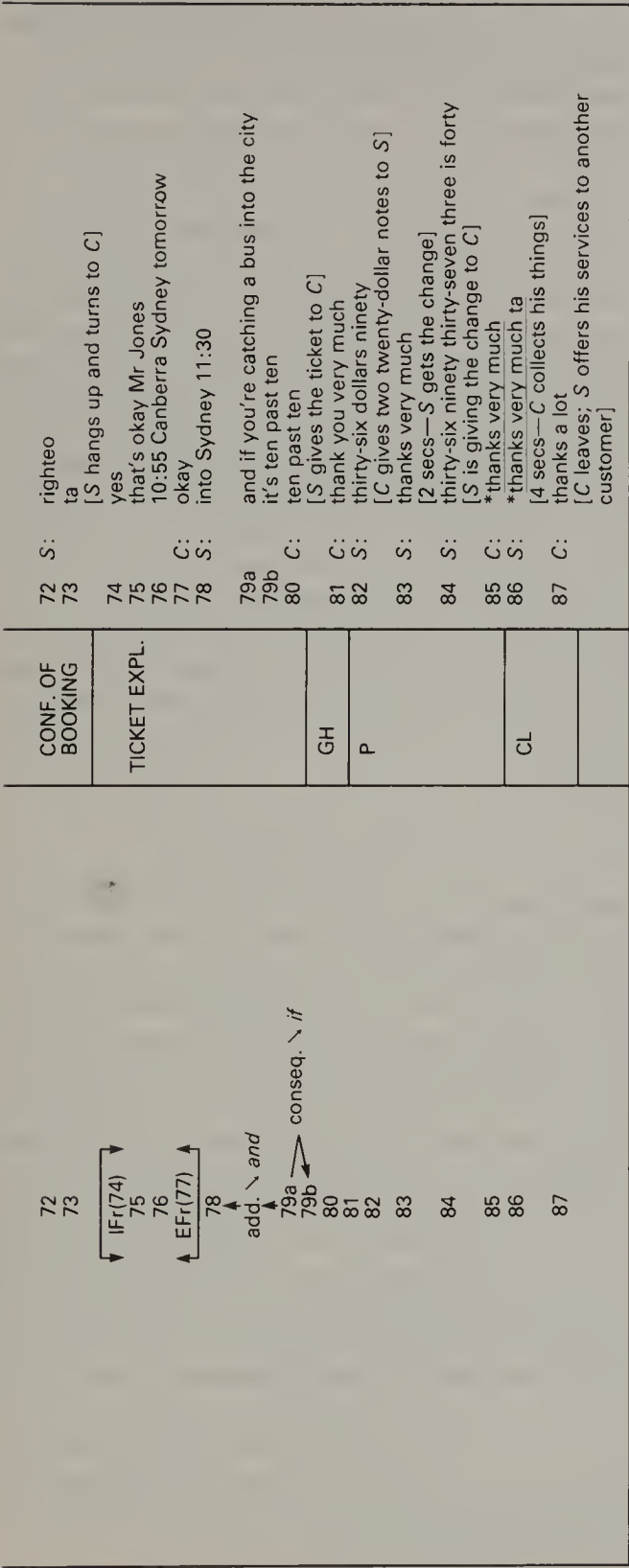


Figure 8.11 Text 11 and CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING

posited element boundaries. But it does coincide with the boundary of the rankshifted part of the action-orientated exchange (A1:R of 35–51) and its antecedent A2. Inside this rankshifted part of BOOKING there appears a frame, *okay* (48). This frame is a Backward Pointing Intrinsic Frame, marking the end of one of the stages of giving information needed for making a booking on the flights.

After BOOKING the element CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING occurs. Again, for the same reasons as above, this element has not been analysed here. The beginning of the next element, TICKET EXPLANATION, is clearly marked by an Element Initiating Frame, realized by a lexical item *yes* (74). The perhaps surprising interpretation of *yes* as a frame is justified because nothing has preceded it, to which it could be a response. Its responding function can hardly be seen to reach as far back as *C's I'll book it now thanks* (34). A second frame during this element appears in (77), *C's okay*. The function of this *okay* has already been discussed in the section dealing with exchange structures. There two interpretations have been suggested: either it is an Element Ending Frame, which has been initiated too early by *C*, or it functions as an A2f, if the whole exchange is interpreted as involving a linguistic service.

To recapitulate, it can be concluded that the internal conjunctions and other frames realized in Text 11 only give support to the chunking of the following elements, SI and SII. The boundaries of these elements are indicated explicitly by internal consequential conjunctions, *then*. Evidence retrieved from CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING for all the other generic structure elements remains scarce.

8.4 A SUMMARIZING OVERVIEW OF THE ANALYSES

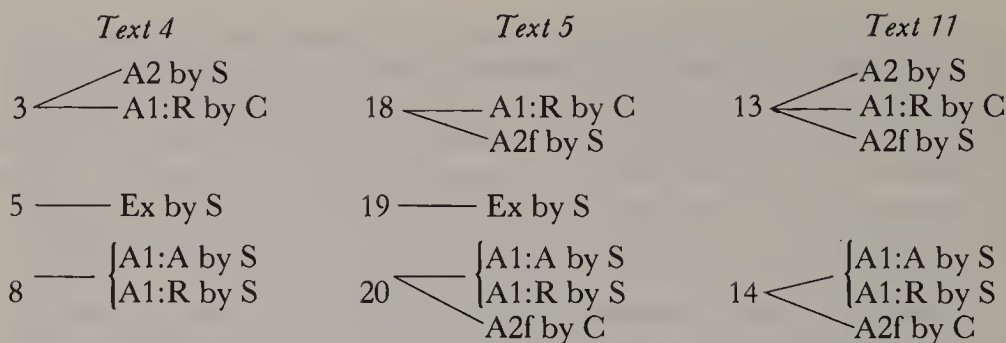
The purpose of this last chapter has been twofold. Firstly, it has brought together the analyses of discourse structures generated by the systems of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, LEXICAL COHESION, REFERENCE and CONJUNCTION, plus, on the genre plane, BOUNDARY MARKING. As the discourse systems have been introduced in the previous chapters, 4–7, they have been illustrated by various texts and text extracts from the data collected. In this last chapter, however, a text from each register chosen for this study—postal, shopping and travel—has been analysed for the structures which the discourse systems have generated in the respective texts. It was expected that each of the discourse structures in its own way reflect the semiotic organization of the text on the genre plane. In other words, it was anticipated that each type of analysis would project the generic structure realized in the text. With the analyses of Texts 4, 5 and 11 it has been demonstrated that none of the discourse structures alone realize the generic structure elements in the texts. The discourse structures complement one another. CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE appears the most powerful discourse system organizing generic structure realizations in texts. This comes as no surprise, since interaction, the exchange of messages, is the main feature of service encounters. CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING realizations, contrary to expectations, seem to be the least revealing of the generic organizations of texts.

The second purpose of this chapter has been to bring together the analyses and what has been said in the theoretical part of this study, especially in Chapter 3. In other words, the discourse system realizations should project the fact that all three texts analysed belong to one and the same genre, that of service encounters, but that at the same time each text represents texts belonging to different registers. Are these factors reflected in the analyses? In answering this question, what in the three texts is the 'same' will be considered first.

It cannot be purely accidental that in all three texts one can recognize activity sequences which greatly resemble one another. For example, all the texts start when a person walks into an 'institution', looks around and waits until another person present in the same physical environment calls out to him. Having heard this call, the first person turns to the caller and addresses and requests the second person to do something for him, either verbally or non-verbally. Such a description could be continued, but it is probably best to shift back to the technical terminology used previously in the study. All three analysed texts include the following generic structure elements: AA, S, GH, P and CL. It seems impossible that Texts 4, 5 and 11 would purely by chance include chunks which can function in exactly the same way in texts (although of course their linguistic realizations may vary from text to text). Rather, it seems that these functional elements are generated by the same synoptic and dynamic systems on the genre plane.

The synoptic view of these texts is that the elements AA, S, GH, P and CL are all realizations of selections of certain features in the genre network describing options involved in service encounters. The dynamic view is that in some of these texts some elements may be occurring more than once. For example, in Text 11 the SERVICE element is reiterated three times: SI, SII and SIII. This fact is accounted for by the dynamic representation of the service encounter genre. In the flowchart representation of the unfolding of interaction in service encounters, the generic structure element S is generated three times by looping back to the beginning of the generation procedure of the element S. The flowchart representation also accounts for the fact that in some texts elements occur which could have, but have not occurred in the other texts. For example, the element SB could also have occurred in Text 5 and perhaps, although this is less likely, in Text 4. But in fact it only appears in Text 11. So the 'sameness' in the texts is captured on the genre plane by the fact that texts follow, to a certain degree, the same social process, i.e. the same organization of generic structure elements.

The 'sameness' in the texts is also captured in their realizations on the discourse stratum. It cannot be a coincidence that, for example, the element P is realized by exchanges which involve such striking similarities in the ways they are constructed of moves, as illustrated below:



Exchange 3 of Text 4, 18 of Text 5 and 13 of Text 11 all capture the activity of the customer handing over the money in payment for goods purchased. In spite of the individual variation in the exchanges, i.e. inclusions and exclusions of A2- and A2f-slots, what is common in all of the texts is the A1:R by C. This move is necessary if the payment is to take place. It can be the only move realizing P, if the sum given is exact. But often exchanges like 5 of Text 4 and 19 of Text 5 occur. These are exchanges directed to *S* himself. Their function is to help *S* to keep in mind the total sum for the purchase, as well as to sort out how much change he needs to give back to *C*. If 'change' is involved, an exchange which involves at least an A1:R-slot is necessary. This time the person making this move is *S*, i.e. *S* gives the change to *C*. As the realized exchanges above illustrate, this move is mostly accompanied by an A1:A by *S*. It is appropriate that the giving of the change is at the same time acknowledged verbally as well.

Similarities in the realization of generic structure can also be found in other elements across the texts analysed. GH is realized by the move A1:R by *S* in all the texts. In AA the Att-slots by *S* are followed by RAtt-slots by *C*. Even in the element S, whose realization perhaps varies most across the texts, as far as the exchanges are concerned, similarities in the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realizations can be found. All S elements realized in the three texts seem to involve a nuclear exchange where *C* expresses his Need and *S* provides a Compliance to this Need. In this sense all three texts are the same. Variation in the S elements results mostly from the fact that Needs sometimes require specifying and sometimes additional information of goods-&-services are needed for Compliances.

In what way the texts are the same in terms of REFERENCE is not so readily stated. But when one looks at the reference chains in all the texts, there are two chains which seem to track down the same participants in the whole corpus. These are *S* and *C* in the '*S*'-chain and '*C*'-chain. In all the texts there is also one indexical chain that can typically be related to the realization of the element S in the text. For example, in Text 4 it is the 'letters' chain, in Text 5 the 'mobiles' chain and in Text 11 the 'transport' chain. The fact that each text includes such an indexical reference chain can be regarded as a feature of the 'sameness' in the texts.

Similarly, to state what is the 'same' in terms of LEXICAL COHESION seems hard. Again, however, the texts appear to include some lexical strings, the

items of which concentrate on the lines where the *SERVICE* element is realized, thus indicating the element, for example 'indexical activities' in Text 4, 'mobiles' in Text 5 and 'transport' in Text 11. Furthermore, all texts include a lexical string 'prices'. The items in that string appear, mostly, where *P* is realized in the texts.

Certain conclusions about the similarities of the generic structures can, thus, also be drawn from the *REFERENCE* and *LEXICAL COHESION* structures. *CONJUNCTION* and *BOUNDARY MARKING*, however, do not seem to play a significant role in defining either the 'sameness' or the 'difference' in the analysed texts.

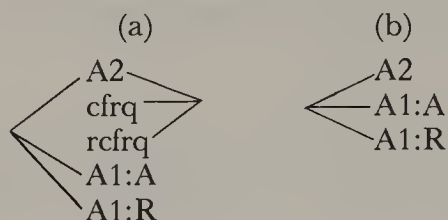
What then makes the three texts different and how are they different? The answer to the first part of the question is to be found in the organization of the semiotic planes. The genre plane determines the sequential and functional nature of the social process and this is realized in the texts as generic structures. But the genre networks can only autonomously determine the elements in the generic structures to a certain degree. Once more, delicate distinctions are to be made, the genre plane has to 'negotiate' with the register plane how to realize the choices. If an element like *POSTING* in Text 4 is generated, its realization will automatically lead to the relevant *FIELD* choices of 'posting'. Synoptically, such an element is generated by stepping from the main social process flowchart into a relevant side programme (which links directly with the relevant *FIELD*). As can be seen in Text 11, if the *FIELD* option 'travel' is selected, then the realization of such elements as *BOOKING*, *CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING* and *TICKET EXPLANATION* becomes possible. But note that one can always opt out from realizing these elements by skipping over them in the flowchart. The inclusion of these *FIELD* specific elements has made at least Text 4 and Text 11 different from Text 5 and from one another (naturally certain *TENOR* and *MODE* selections may also result in the generation of some elements which are 'register specific' in texts).

But the analysed texts are also different in their realizations on the discourse stratum in the way that discourse systems in turn realize the generic structures of the texts. *CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE* will be considered first. The differences that have to do with the *CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE* realizations are due to 'exchange structure potential'. One can speak of synoptic as well as of dynamic potential in connection with exchanges.

Firstly, by 'synoptic', is meant that each exchange may include one or more slots according to the structural formula presented in Chapter 4: ((DX1) X2) X1 (X2f) (X1f) (elaborated from Berry 1981a, b, c). If the exchange only includes one slot, it has to be the X1-slot. Thus, for example, paying for the purchase is only realized by *C*'s A1:R-slot in some texts. In other texts, *S* actually requests the payment by making an A2-slot, which is then followed by a A1:R-slot by *C*, as discussed earlier. Thus, synoptically differently constructed exchanges may realize exactly the same semiotic functions in texts.

Secondly, dynamic potential may greatly contribute to the 'individual' characteristics of texts. Dynamic potential refers to the dynamic systems of

SUSPENDING, ABORTING and ELUCIDATING discussed in Chapter 4. Let us consider two exchanges, (a) and (b), with the following structure:



In Exchange (a) the action cannot proceed beyond the A2-slot until a dynamic exchange of *cfrq* ^ *rcfrq* has taken place. But once it has taken place, Exchange (a) cannot, in functional terms, be considered to differ from Exchange (b). Its realization is different, but its function is the same. Such dynamic interferences make Texts 4, 5 and 11 look different in their realizations of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE.

REFERENCE systems also seem to contribute to the fact that Texts 4, 5 and 11 are perceived to be 'different'. Some of the participants seem to be shared in all of the texts, namely *S* and *C*. But each text also seems to include particular indexical reference chains which only appear to play a role in the text which belongs to a specific register. For example, in Text 4 the reference chain 'letters' seem to be typical of the chosen 'postal' FIELD option. In Text 5 the 'mobile' chain tracks down participants which are only relevant in the context where the chosen FIELD option is that of 'shopping'. In Text 11 the items included in the 'transport' chain seem typical for the selection of the FIELD option 'travel'.

The texts analysed also have LEXICAL COHESION structures, i.e. lexical strings, which differentiate them from one another. In other words, some of the lexical strings and the items in the strings reflect particular register choices. For example, it is not typical that such items as *post* and *air mail* in Text 4 would appear in Text 5, where the FIELD selected is that of 'shopping'. Similarly, it would be rare to have a 'transport' string with such items as *buses-Ansett-Pioneer-Greyhound* etc. appearing in a text such as Text 4, which has selected the FIELD options 'postal'. It could only appear if, for example, a new stamp series capturing all the bus operators in Australia were issued for sale by Australia Post.

The differences which certain FIELD selections in texts also bring to the LEXICAL COHESION realizations of the generic structure elements can be demonstrated by looking at the lexical strings in the realization of the element P in the three analysed texts:

TEXT 4	TEXT 5	TEXT 11
dollar-twenty-five	four-dollars-fifty	thirty-six-dollars-ninety
one-twenty-five	five-dollars	thirty-six-ninety
dollar-twenty-five	six	thirty-seven
dollar-forty	eight	three

sixty
|
eighty
|
two-dollars
|
three
|
five
|
five
|
ten

two
|
ten

forty
|

At first sight these lexical strings seem to be exactly equivalent, in spite of their instantial meanings and the fact that some strings include more items than others. There is, however, a difference in the meanings which the strings capture. The difference is best seen when the string in Text 11 is compared with the strings in the other two texts. Text 11 string captures 'prices' which are noticeably higher than those in Text 5 and Text 4 strings. This difference has to do with the **FIELD** choices. If 'travel' is chosen, the 'prices' expressed by the lexical strings can be in thousands of dollars (for overseas trips from Australia). If 'shopping' is chosen, and more delicately 'souvenir/gift shopping', the items in the 'prices' string may amount to a hundred, but even that is considered quite exceptional. Finally, if 'postal' is chosen, then one rarely finds items over tens of dollars. The principle is clearly illustrated in the realization of **P** in Texts 4, 5 and 11. The items forming the 'price' string in Text 4 are smaller than those in Text 5, which in turn are smaller than those in Text 11. **LEXICAL COHESION** structures determined by variation in **FIELD** orientation make Texts 4, 5 and 11 quite different from one another.

To recapitulate, when the structures generated by **CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE**, **LEXICAL COHESION**, **REFERENCE** and less so by **CONJUNCTION** and **BOUNDARY MARKING** are considered altogether, the analyses project the generic organization of the three texts in terms of the generic structures realized. In addition to capturing the realized generic structures of texts, one can make statements about the 'sameness' and the 'uniqueness' of the texts by comparing the generic structures and their realizations on the discourse stratum.

Conclusion

This study, as first noted in the introduction, has grown out of an interest in overall, global structures of texts. What perhaps has not so explicitly been stated in the study is what led to such an interest in the first place. The experience of having first learnt foreign languages through formal teaching, but having then used them to live in foreign cultures first made me aware of the mismatch between those linguistic behavioural patterns learnt through formal learning and those demanded in actual social activities. Later, when involved in foreign-language teaching, the same mismatch between what is taught to the foreigner and what is demanded of him was apparent once again, but on different a level. The interactive dialogues in textbooks, supplying behavioural 'models' for foreign students, did not appear to represent the actual interactive dialogues in all their dynamic variation potential which had been observed possible in actual social situations. Textbook dialogues represented native-speaker interaction too formally, grammatically too complete, not taking enough notice, for example, of such dynamic features as ellipsis, substitution, confirmations, challenges, repairs, etc., so common in spontaneous conversation. Moreover, the model dialogues seemed to represent an idealized sequence of events, not corresponding to the variety of organization of social events and their linguistic realizations found in foreign societies. Only occasionally were students given linguistic models of behaviour for such situations where something actually went wrong and the activity sequence needed some repairs. The textbook dialogues did not appear to be very well equipped to teach students the many ways in which linguistic patterns vary when language is used to realize social activity. Under these circumstances, it was felt that applied linguistics should turn to linguistic theories and request help in the task of defining and capturing the linguistic variation in actual social situations. Once defined and described, the natural, native linguistic patterns could be modified for language-teaching purposes without losing sight of the built-in variation of the social activities. But the problem consisted in which linguistic theory to turn to.

Chomskyan linguistics seemed to be more interested in the linguistic behaviour of ideal speaker-hearers than in the behaviour of members of existing speech communities. Pragmatic speech act theories offered an alternative. These theories are interested in what people do with language, what functions sentences and utterances carry. Also, contextual considerations seem to at least a certain degree to be a feature in pragmatic theories. But at the same time these theories appear too limited. Firstly, they are too sentence/utterance based. Only the function of one sentence/utterance at the time is

considered. Interactants in social situations do not, however, operate linguistically with the unit of this kind, but rather create texts. Secondly, pragmatic behaviour is not systematically related to grammatical behaviour. Speech function realizations are not grammatically constrained in pragmatics, as noted in Chapter 4. Thirdly, contextual considerations used in pragmatic theories are interpretative, rather than predictive. That is, context is used retrospectively to explain why something that has been said has such and such a function. This is in opposition to the view whereby, if certain contextual circumstances exist, certain linguistic behaviour can with a certain probability be expected.

'Foreigner-talk' studies were also considered as a possible source of help. Foreigner talk (FT) refers to the study of native speaker & non-native speaker interaction and it aims to characterize the speech that native speakers use when talking to foreigners or when talking about them (e.g. Ferguson 1971, 1975; Meisel 1975). Foreigner talk has often been labelled a 'simplified register', because it has been found that, to some degree, native speakers tend to simplify the grammatical complexities in their speech when talking to foreigners, for example leaving out articles, and copulas, repeating, using simple lexical items, etc. Parallel with FT-studies exist studies of 'broken language' (BL), the foreigner's use of the target language. The effect of interference of the foreigner's native language on his learning the linguistic patterns in the target language are the foci in these studies (see e.g. Meisel 1975; HPD 1975; Ferguson & DeBose 1977; Klein & Dittmar 1979).

Why are FT/BL-studies considered as helping applied linguistics in teaching foreign students 'socially realistic' linguistic patterns and as improving textbook dialogues in the task of capturing the natural native speech variation in linguistically realized social activities, genres? One can assume these studies must have developed a methodology which captures what the 'natural', native registers are in contrast to the simplified registers. Similarly, it can be assumed that, if BL-studies are based on comparative studies of foreigners' and native speakers' behaviour in actual situations, they can tell one something about how foreigners' linguistic behaviour differs from that of native speakers. But the methodology of research and the results which FT/BL-studies offered for the kind of applied linguistic research, aimed at in this study, turned out to be disappointing.

Firstly, the type of data used in FT/BL-studies can hardly be considered to assist foreigners in carrying out linguistically the social activities typical of the culture they may be visiting or in which they may live either permanently or temporarily. For example, FT-studies have used elicited written material data instead of data recorded in actual social situations (see Ferguson 1975). Native speakers (mostly university students) have been asked to report how they would talk to a foreigner. FT-studies have also studied how 'talking to foreigners' is represented in literature. These kinds of studies are naturally interesting in their own right, but it is believed that they do not assist textbook writers in applied linguistics. Later studies (see for example Hatch *et al.* 1978; Long 1980, 1981, 1983; Freed 1981; Snow *et al.* 1981) have used interview and quasi-laboratory task situations to study native-foreigner interaction. The few

studies which actually study native and foreigner social interactions in situations have mostly been based on observations of interaction in these situations, not on recordings made of interactions (see Becker *et al.* 1978). The following questions arise: in comparison to what is FT simplified and in comparison to what is BL broken?

Moreover, the linguistic features which are the foci in the FT/BL-studies are mainly lexicogrammatical in nature. FT/BL is characterized as a deviation from the grammatical patterns described in standard grammars (e.g. deletions of subject pronouns, articles, copulas, possessive pronouns, word order differences, etc.). Lately, however, some attention has been paid to discourse features, such as clarifications, corrections, comprehension checks, etc. (see e.g. Hatch *et al.* 1978; Freed 1981; Long 1983; cf. the dynamic systems in Chapter 4). But neither the grammatical features nor the discourse features are related systematically to each other in a textual sense.

Furthermore, the grammatical features and the discourse features of FT/BL are not related to the contexts where language is used. In other words, there may be contexts where simplified speech is also used quite normally by native speakers when speaking to other native speakers. The study of context has largely been neglected in the FT/BL-studies so far.

It appears that FT should be checked not against 'standard grammars', but against what could be called 'situational grammars'—the term is a technical one invented here to capture how native speakers use language for communication when contextual factors and demands are also taken into consideration. Once 'situational grammars' have been established, i.e. what the linguistic behavioural patterns in certain situation types are, then one can also establish how native speakers use a particular 'situational grammar' differently when speaking to a foreigner and when speaking to a native speaker. Telling what the BL-features are will also become easier. The foreigner's use of the 'situational grammar' can be contrasted with the native's use of the 'situational grammar'. Finally, one can compare the 'situational grammar' of the target language (the language learnt by the foreigner) with the 'situational grammar' of the source language (the language spoken as mother tongue by the foreigner). Thus one could not only explain the learner's errors, but also teach and 'warn' the learner of the differences in the two cultures, as far as the linguistic behaviour in this situation type which the 'situational grammar' has described is concerned. In other words, the learner will be able to predict what kind of linguistic behaviour (genre and register) will be required of him whenever he gets involved in a situation which belongs to this particular situation type. To summarize, 'situational grammars' would be used (1) to characterize the target language native speaker interaction in particular situation types' (2) to describe FT in the same situation types; (3) to describe BL in the same situation types; and (4) for contrasting the source language native speaker interaction in the same situation types with the target language native speaker interaction.

The linguistic theory which has proved most suitable for writing 'situational grammars' is the systemic-functional theory. As discussed in Chapter 1, it has been based on the early contextual theories of Malinowski and Firth

and the work on register by the early systemic theories and has inherited a strong contextual orientation where context and language are systematically related to one another. Furthermore, its most recent developments in the area of overall, global text structures can be considered most promising for capturing the kind of descriptive aims listed above. The post office, shop and travel agency interactions which represent service encounters, with which most members of a society frequently have to deal, were taken as a starting-point for setting up 'situational grammars', or rather for using the now so familiar systemic terminology, genre and register descriptions. Although data for points (2) (3) and (4) have also been collected, with Finnish as the source language, this study has only concentrated on point (1), namely on writing a genre description of native service encounters. Why the extensions of the study to point (2) (3) and (4) have not been made has largely to do, firstly, with time and resource limitations and, secondly, with the fact that the theory of genre and register is still very much a developing one, as this present study has illustrated. However, points (2) (3) and (4) are the directions that future studies conducted in the area are seen to naturally take.

As mentioned above, point (1) sets out to describe post office, shop and travel agency interactions from the point of view of their text structure patterns, i.e. their semiotic organization on the genre plane as well as the linguistic realizations of this organization. What the study has achieved is to provide a methodology to account for variation, theoretically as well as descriptively, on the plane of genre. That is, from the synoptic point of view, post office, shop and travel agency texts are explained as belonging to the genre of service encounters, because they have selected for the same features in the network which represents the options for genre agnateness. The agnateness of these text types has been shown to be manifested in the similarities of their generic structure realizations, which are detected in texts by the analyses of the realized linguistic patterns on the language plane. From the dynamic point of view, when each text which belongs to the genre of service encounters is generated, the realized generic structures of texts in the data have been shown to vary; when the texts are created, different options are followed in the flowchart which represents the dynamic text-unfolding procedure.

Although this study has primarily dealt with the semiotic plane of genre and its linguistic realizations, the realizational plane of genre, register, has also been taken into account. The flowchart representation explains the variations of the generic structures of the texts which are related to various FIELD selections by allowing such elements as POSTING and BOOKING, for example, to be generated by side programming. What the effect of TENOR and MODE register choices are has not, however, been studied in this context. Such studies are, nevertheless, seen as a necessary part of the future extensions of this study. TENOR choices, i.e. social relationships between interactants, are also likely to change when the social process, the genre, unfolds. Foreign-language learners especially should be aware of the TENOR changes in activity sequences. Similarly, MODE selections may change during the unfolding of a social process and should urgently be studied. Genres use different MODE

options for their realization: if some parts of the generic structure are chosen to be realized by different *MODE* selections, e.g. face-to-face interaction vs. letter vs. telephone, these selections have important, particular consequences for the linguistic realizations of texts and thus, such changes must also be systematically considered in applied linguistics. Some tentative *FIELD* networks have been presented in this study. They are, however, limited and will probably have to be reworked in subsequent studies. Networks representing *FIELD*, *MODE* and *TENOR* choices have to be developed in future studies for service encounters as well as for other major genres which capture the most common, or valued, types of social interactions in a native and a foreign speech community.

The analyses which have been concluded in the latter part of this study have shown that there are some systematic correlations between the semiotic organization of a text and its linguistic realization. In the context of this study it has only been possible to look at the correspondences between generic structure elements and their realizations by discourse systems, i.e. how genre is realized on the discourse stratum of the language plane (vs. how it is realized on the lexicogrammatical and phonological strata). Generic structure realizations have been found to be identifiable in the texts from resemblances in their realizations of *CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE*, *LEXICAL COHESION*, *REFERENCE* and less so by *CONJUNCTION* and *BOUNDARY MARKING*. However, the correspondences cannot be, and this must be emphasized, established on the basis of one type of analysis alone and in general many descriptive problems have yet to be solved. For example, the problems which the *CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE* analyses have brought into focus will most likely increase as more texts, and texts of different types, are analysed. Nevertheless, the systematic correspondences, which on the basis of all the analyses can be established between the generic structure elements and discourse realizations, prove encouraging and can be combined with the dynamic representation of the genre generation procedure to be used for predictive language teaching in applied contexts. The following method, for example, may be applied. Students are made aware of what the elements in the main social process flow-chart are, how the elements are sequenced and what kind of elements can be generated by side programmes. Then, assuming typical *FIELD*, *MODE* and *TENOR* choices, element by element, the students are instructed in the typical discourse and lexicogrammatical realizations for the element, as well as in the variation of the sequencing of the elements. *CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE* is probably the most important of the systems, when exchanging messages in face-to-face interaction is taught. By modifying *FIELD*, *MODE* and *TENOR* choice selections students are sensitized to the demands which the register plane places on linguistic realizations of genres. Students will be practising 'linguistic fine-tuning' to agnate social situations.

When such applications to language teaching are made of the systematical realizational correspondences between the planes of genre, register and language, it is important that all the planes and the strata have been studied fully. Since this has not been the case here, applications of the present study to language teaching are not immediate. In this study only the genre plane and

its realization on the discourse stratum of the language plane have been studied extensively. The 'spirit' of the work has been exploratory. The way in which the relationship between genre and register is realized linguistically has been discussed, but its systematic representation has to be carried out in future studies. Similarly, the question of whether generic structure elements also have typical lexicogrammatical and phonological realizations has not been answered. It is also for these reasons that the application of this study to foreign-language teaching cannot be seen straightforwardly and immediately, but must rather be realized step by step and with great caution.

For the description of the genre of service encounters, a relatively large corpus of data has been collected, but only twelve texts have been used to demonstrate the approach in detail. The analysed texts can be considered representative of the rest of the data collected. Also, additional data has been used throughout, to further demonstrate the phenomena found in the twelve texts and to check and support the hypotheses set up. No statistical quantification has been done for the variables in the analyses. Ultimately, however, quantification must be seen as an essential part of the procedure of defining what the genres are and how they are related to one another. This is largely because genre, as well as register, characteristics of texts are 'more or less' statements. In this investigation quantification has proved difficult. This is due to the fact that discourse units, which realize genre options, are constructed dynamically. The possibility of quantification has probably become more realistic since the way in which discourse units are constructed dynamically is now better understood. For example, in exchange structures generated by CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, it is now easier to distinguish those slots and moves which are generated synoptically and those which are generated dynamically. What has been said above leads to an obvious area to which this study can also be extended. The synoptic and the dynamic view of social interaction, together with the representations of both, have so far been elaborated in different degrees for the connotative semiotic planes. The synoptic descriptions of the phonological, lexicogrammatical and discourse systems, and the structures they generate on the language plane, have been carried out fairly extensively within systemic theory. The synoptics of the register and the genre planes are hardly described at all. In this study, the dynamic representation has only been carried out more extensively on the genre plane, and partly for the generation of exchange structures on the discourse stratum. But all other planes and strata lack dynamic descriptions.

The study has put forward arguments for representing linguistically realized social interactions as genres which unfold dynamically and which can be represented by flowchart representations. The synoptic representations of the genre plane still remain at a very tentative level (see Martin 1985) and thus need to be developed. The networks will most likely have to be redrawn in future work. The synoptic and dynamic perspectives are seen to be complementary on all planes. It is important that a text is not only considered as a finished product, as something with which an analyst is occupied, a text must also be considered as a process, as something with which interactants are occupied, continuously negotiating its unfolding and creation.

The last point that needs to be emphasized in these concluding remarks is the importance of genre studies to the understanding of different cultures and social systems. Cultures are realized in the ways in which members of a society behave linguistically in various types of social situations. The concept of genre is a concept through which individuals' language behaviour can be related to the cultural systems which exist in a society. The service encounter genre represents a very fundamental type of interaction in any society. One can say that we live in part by service encounters. We may not buy stamps or gifts, or organize to travel somewhere, everyday of our lives, but a day hardly goes by during which we do not engage in a service encounter agnate to the ones investigated in this study. A study which sets out to understand the linguistic mechanisms realizing the social systems and workings of a society is one which aims to show how people get on linguistically with one another, achieving what they have set themselves to achieve in situational and cultural contexts.

Appendix

TRANSCRIPTION KEY

<i>S</i> :	= Server
<i>C</i> :	= Customer
[3 secs]	= a pause lasting three seconds
[<i>S</i> hangs up]	= non-verbal activity
*yes	
*and then	= simultaneous speech marked by * and its extent marked by underlining; if simultaneous speech follows simultaneous speech then ** is used for the latter simultaneous speech
↗	= rising tone (usually tone 2)
. . .	= a pause of less than a second
(yes)	= likely wording
()	= wording not possible to transcribe
on the—	= speaker does not finish his utterance

TEXT 1—POST OFFICE

S: yes please [*C* steps forward]
C: can I have these two like that [hands over two letters]
S: yes
[3 secs—*S* weighs one letter]
S: one's forty-five
[3 secs—*S* weighs the other letter]
S: one's twenty-five
C: and have you got . . . the . . . first day covers of . . .
S: yes
C: (Anzac)
[2 secs]
S: how many would you like
C: four please
S: two of each ↗
C: what have you got
S: uh there's two different designs on the—
[5 secs—*S* shows *C* the covers]
C: I'll take two of each
S: uhum
[6 secs—*S* gets the stamps for the letters and the covers]

- S*: right . . . that's a dollar seventy thank you
 [10 secs—*S* puts the covers into a bag; *C* gets out the money]
S: here we are
 [2 secs—*S* hands over the stamps and the covers; *C* hands the money to *S*]
C: *thank you
S: *thank you
 [5 secs—*S* gets the change]
S: dollar seventy that's two four and one's five *thank you very much
C: thank you
 [2 secs—*C* reaches for the letters]
S: they'll be right I'll fix those up in a moment
C: okay
 [*C* leaves]

TEXT 2—POST OFFICE

- S*: yes sir
 [*C* steps closer]
C: a padded postal bag please
S: which one
C: which one . . . one for a thing about— . . . oh dear
 [2 secs]
S: what is it *just a parcel ↗
C: *it's a uh uh it's it's a tape . . . *er—
S: *what—a single tape by itself ↗
C: yeah
S: right it'll fit in the twenty
C: no it's it's a bigger tape than that
S: well what about the *twenty-five
C: *I guess I'm gonna have to look at the—it might be a bit narrow I'm
gonna have *to look at the thirty—
S: *yeah well . . . there are only—
C: yeah yeah right
S: *all right that's easy if you don't like that you'll have to have a thirty-five
C: I'll have to have a thirty-five-cent one won't I ↗
S: no choice
C: right
 [7 secs—*S* gets the bag and hands it over to *C*; *C* counts his coins]
C: () . . . good . . . exactly [*C* is giving the money to *S*]
S: good *thank you very much
C: *thank you very much

TEXT 3—POST OFFICE

- S*: yes please
C: uh can I have a jiffy bag for that please
 [hands over a packet]
S: uhuh
 [3 secs—*S* gets the bag]
S: it should fit into the thirty-five I think
C: oh right
 [2 secs—*S* puts the packet into the bag]
S: where's it going
C: Adelaide
 [3 secs—*S* weighs the bag]
S: hm that's eighty cents surface mail or a dollar twenty air mail
C: when will it get there by surface mail
S: whereabouts is it going in Adelaide
C: uhm Barossa Valley ↗
S: uh that's outside and you might as well send it surface mail because
 its— . . . it'll be there Monday . . . or Tuesday . . . either way . . . b'cause
 it'll go to Adelaide and it goes up by road or by train to the *Barossa
C: *yeah okay
S: okay ↗
C: so it's eighty
S: uhuh plus thirty-five for the bag
 [10 secs—*S* gets the stamps and staples the bag; *C* gets out her money]
C: (six eight)
 [*S* hands the goods to *C*]
S: one dollar fifteen altogether thank you
C: there's the eighty
 [4 secs—*C* is counting her coins]
C: there's twenty-five (laugh) emptying all my—[*C* gives 25 cents to *S*]
S: it's all right I don't care how it comes . . . as long as it comes
C: (her' y're) [hands over the rest of the sum]
S: thanks
 [1 sec—*S* counts the money and *C* takes the bag]
C: thanks very much
S: when you've addressed it just bring it back to me and I'll *post it for you
C: *okay

TEXT 4—POST OFFICE

- S*: yes please [*C* turns to *S*]
C: uhm could you tell me how much it costs to post those please
 [*C* hands over three letters]
 [6 secs—*S* weighs one of the letters]

- S*: one's forty-five
[5 secs—*S* weighs the other letters]
- S*: airmail—airmail to Japan ↗
- C*: uhuh
[10 secs—*S* looks up the price]
- S*: both forty cents each
[2 secs]
- S*: it's a dollar twenty-five altogether thank you
[15 secs—*S* gets the stamps for the letters]
- S*: there we are [*S* hands over the stamps]
- C*: thank you [*C* gives *S* a ten-dollar note]
- S*: one twenty-five [said when receiving the money]
- C*: do I have to post these
- S*: I'll take care *of them
- C*: *okay
[11 secs—*S* gets the change]
- S*: one twenty-five dollar thirty sixty eighty two dollars and three . . . five
and five's ten [*S* gives the change to *C*] thank you *very much
- C*: *thank you

TEXT 5—SHOP

- [*C* walks into the shop with her little brother; they walk to the section where there are mobiles; *S* walks up to them and starts the conversation]
- S*: you're just browsing are you [*C* turns to *S*] [taken down as notes] is there anything particular you wanted or—
- C*: I'm just looking at those mobiles
- S*: okay uhm . . . which one did you er . . . would you like to see out . . . any particular one there ↗ [the mobiles are at the show window]
[2 secs]
- C*: the diver
- S*: the diver . . . I'll take that one out
[9 ses—*S* bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor, but cannot find the right one]
- S*: I'll take one out the window . . . for you
[5 secs—*S* takes the mobile out]
- S*: this is the one [*S* puts the mobile on the counter] he just goes round really . . . like that [*S* gives the mobile a push]
- C*: hm . . . how much is it
- S*: four fifty
[5 secs—*C* keeps looking at the mobile]
- C*: er . . . hm
- S*: all of them are four fifty except the small little rocky one that's three fifty and the others are bigger
- C*: you've only got the golfer the tennis player and the diver

S: yes uh there is a soccer player there
 [2 secs—*S* turns around to look for it]
S: (there it is)
 [2 secs—*S* keeps looking for more mobiles]
S: no there's one soccer player the— up there
 [4 secs—*C* keeps looking at the mobiles]
C: we'll take him [the diver]
B: have him [*C*'s little brother; said to *C*]
S: okay
 [32 secs—*S* packs the mobile]
S: there we are [*S* handing over the packet; *C* hands over a ten-dollar note]
S: thank you four dollars fifty
 [9 secs—*S* operates the cash register and takes out the change]
S: five dollars six eight and two is ten thanks very *much
C: *good [*C* and *B* collect their things and leave]

TEXT 6—SHOP

[*C* walks into the shop; *S* is first engaged with other customers, but when she finishes with them she walks up to *C*; in the meantime *C* has been looking around]
S: I presume you've looked around so you probably know what you're looking for
C: yeah
 [7 secs—*C* is looking at small coin purses]
C: *(how much—)
S: *those are ninety-five the little *plastic ones and beaded ones are seventy-five
C: *yeah
C: I wanted to erm—
 [22 secs—*C* continues looking]
C: it's very hard to buy . . .
S: beg your pardon ↗
C: very hard to buy a purse for a boy that's not sissy
S: yes it is *but that's all right though
C: *erm . . . that's for the—
S: yes
C: that wasn't what I came in looking for
S: no well . . . what did you really want was there something *else you—
C: *no I was just looking for something for my mother **and . . . I still haven't
S: **erm
S: what age is the boy
C: pardon
S: *what—

- C*: *no it's for my mother
S: yeah but what age is the boy
C: oh . . . that's for him [*C* is carrying something that she has chosen already]
S: yeah he's only a young child is he ↗
C: eight
S: yes 'cause there's little wallets up there but they're a dollar fifty did you see those ↗
C: no
 [5 secs—*S* takes the wallets out]
S: there again you might feel they're a little bit too er old but that little *one here
C: *oh no he's he's not up to those yet
S: no no oh we'll leave it at that
 [8 secs—*S* wraps up the goods; *C* looks at the pins at the counter]
C: how much are the pins
S: they're two dollars fifty
 [4 secs—*S* hands over the goods; *C* hands *S* a note]
S: three eighty-five then . . . that was right ↗ I think I made it ninety-five
 [*S* has recorded 3.85, but the purchase was in fact 3.95, so she operates the cash register again for the remaining 10 cents]
S: sorry about that
C: that's all right
S: ninety-five there we are [*S* hands *C* the change] *thanks very much
C: *thank you
S: good
 [*C* takes her goods and leaves]

TEXT 7—SHOP

- [*C* walks into the shop and starts the interaction; both *C* and *S* are looking at the jewelry hanging on the wall while talking]
C: I'm looking for something that will go with this dress just around the neck but it can be sort of grey blue couldn't it I don't think I shall find it so don't waste your time on me too much
S: what sort of—
C: you know the sort of— if I happened to see one that sort of colour . . . [*C* points to a piece of jewelry] that's the type of thing only in the wrong colour that's awfully nice *actually
S: what if I could find something like that in that colour
C: I think even milder a colour would do (dear)
S: a cream a cream would do I think cream would be the nearest—
C: a cream would do you think do you ↗ how much are they
 [7 secs—*C* points to a piece of jewelry; *S* looks up its price]
S: two dollars fifty you can try it on

- C: I don't think it would be really—
[4 secs—C keeps looking]
- C: *yes
- S: *I'll see if we couldn't find an off-white— . . . how about a string of . . .
off-white pearls . . . would that be better ↗ . . . that might be better
[S shows the pearls to C]
- C: hm I don't like that I think I'm too old for that honestly
[2 secs—C tries them on]
- C: no I think *not (mumbles)
- S: *(they go with that even better)
- C: I got one I tell you . . . a very nice thing through you I got a very nice . . .
thing of this sort [C points to a piece of jewelry] only dark . . . that I
thought I'd just try
- S: like that ↗ [S starts looking for a similar piece that C had pointed at]
erm
[2 secs]
- S: what—
[4 secs—S shows C a piece of jewelry]
- C: well that's what I was looking at that sort of things's quite nice . . . sort
of ivory colour but er it's not the— oh sorry [C apologizes for being in
S's way while she is putting the piece back] I think it wants the grey or
the blue *although that isn't bad
- S: *what about grey [S shows another piece of jewelry to C]
- C: that's awfully expensive isn't it
- S: two dollars thirty
- C: oh I . . . I see I *misread the—
- S: *what about this one in grey [S shows yet another piece to C]
- C: I think I'll leave it and think about it
- S: hm okay . . . fine [but S continues searching]
- C: *thank you
- S: *what about that one [S again shows a piece of jewelry to C]
[5 secs—S takes the piece off the wall]
- S: they'd be too long
[2 secs—C tries the piece on]
- C: *that's the sort of colour—
- S: *that's a nice colour
- C: **that's the colour
- S: **that's a nice contrast
- C: yes
- S: but they'd be too long
- C: oh that— you see it has to be darker
- S: but it wouldn't actually *()
- C: *you wouldn't have that small would you
- S: no
- C: and it couldn't easily be made small could it *I don't think so
- S: *I'll have a look
[4 secs]

- C: I don't think so really
 S: I'll ask Izar [= the jeweler]
 [5 secs]
 S: perhaps it's a matter of Izar taking a few off
 C: yes
 S: that lifts the dress
 C: it does *that's nice
 S: *it lifts the dress
 C: yes . . . I'll think about that
 S: *okay
 C: *I might get my husband *he might think it's not so good
 S: *righteo (laugh)
 C: thank you
 [C leaves the shop]

TEXT 8—SHOP

- [C walks into the shop and goes towards the display shelves; S walks up to her and opens the conversation]
 S: can I help you [taken down as notes]
 C: I was just wondering if you have any wallets for men [taken down as notes]
 S: no they're mostly souvenir *ones see ↗
 C: *oh I see **yeah
 S: **they're the plain ones there
 [5 secs—C starts looking at the wallets pointed out by S]
 C: they're all the same style are they ↗
 S: there are a few . . . different ones there
 [29 secs—S looks on while C examines the wallets]
 C: er my husband's got one that's got er . . . partitions for all the credit cards you know ↗
 S: it's those proper ones . . . yeah we have some of those
 [1 sec]
 C: I'd like to see them
 S: uhmm
 [29 secs—S gets the other wallets out to show C]
 C: on no uh these have er sort of got this this—
 S: uhmm
 C: it's lots like that
 S: uhmm
 C: only they're running along like that
 S: uhmm
 C: they're you know of leather actually it was an American one (I think it)
 () I haven't seen them out here really it's just worn out you
 know it's sort of faded . . . leather

- S*: uhm
[4 secs]
C: anyway thanks very much
[*C* leaves the shop]

TEXT 9—TRAVEL AGENCY

- [*C* and *C* 2 enter the travel agency; before *S* starts serving them their permission to record the conversation was asked; then *S* approaches the couple; *C* does all the talking]
- S*: can I help you [taken down as notes]
C: yes [taken down as notes] I'd like to . . . just— is this is this the right place for erm booking . . . erm . . . (laugh)— I'm just getting all confused (laugh) is this the right place for booking . . . rail or erm . . . bus fares to . . . er . . . Adelaide
S: yeah
C: could you give us the . . . *respective charges please
S: *the fares
C: yes
[17 secs—*S* goes to get some brochures]
C: that'd be return
S: yeah
C: yeah
[4 secs—*S* is looking for the information in the brochures]
S: right the . . . train would be a hundred and six dollars return
C: uhuh
S: oh hang on . . . Canberra
[2 secs—*S* is looking at the brochures]
S: (which one)
[3 secs—*S* is still checking the information in the brochures]
S: eighty . . . six dollars forty . . . return . . . *by train
C: *uhuh that's second class is it ↗
S: yes economy
C: uhuh
S: yeah first class would be . . . about a hundred and forty-three dollars
C: uhm
S: seventy-one seventy one way
C: okay
S: that's train
[2 secs—*S* takes the other brochures]
S: bus
[6 secs—*S* leafing through the brochures to find the right place]
S: it depends which way you go
C: shortest

- S: right . . . via Griffith . . . that's gone up isn't it ↗ [said either to another travel agent or to herself]
[3 secs]
- S: you can go either way via Griffith is cheaper
- C: *uhuh
- S: *it's hundred and three dollars eighty return via Melbourne is a hundred and twenty-eight dollars eighty return
- C: okay that could be a good idea *to work from
- S: *okay ↗
- C: **thanks very much
- S: **do you want these ↗
- C: erm . . . yeah all right *thanks
- S: *I'll give you those
- C: **thank you
- S: **and then the rates're on them
- C: right
- S: *and it's got departure times and days and everything
- C: good
- S: **okay ↗
- C: **thanks very much
- S: right bye bye

TEXT 10—TRAVEL AGENCY

- S: can I help you
- C: yes please I'd like some uh information on fares to England . . . (at first)
- S: uhm . . . would you like to come and take a seat and I'll just explain it all to you
- C: okay
[3 secs—S and C go to S's desk and sit down facing each other]
- S: we've got them all on one brochure now . . . the very cheapest fare is an advanced purchase airfare . . . which is the one which is laid out here
- C: here ↗ [C looks at the brochure that S has put in front of her]
- S: yes . . . it depends when you're going over and when you're coming back see you simply read down that side and then across that way
- C: right . . . right
- S: the idea with the advanced purchase . . . you must have firm bookings over and back . . . although you must pay no later than forty-five days before you travel you must pay within seven days of booking
- C: right
- S: which means if you booked today to travel at the end of this year . . . you pay seven days from today's date . . . when you've paid your money . . . it's very difficult to get it back
- C: yeah
- S: if you cancel out between . . . the time you actually get your ticket . . .

and that forty-five-day time limit . . . you've incur— cancellation fee is seventy dollars

C: *uhm

S: *inside the forty-five days . . . there's a hundred percent non-refundable . . . it also applies after you start to travel . . . there is an insurance that can cover you against . . . illness or whatever . . . so that takes care of the advanced purchase one . . . this one here is an excursion return it allows stopovers this one doesn't . . . which means if you wanted to go over and you did not buy it in advance for example you want to go in a couple of week's time

C: right *no I'm ()

S: *this this is the sort of fare— yeah that's the sort of fare you're looking at . . . it's flexible it's broken after the seasons and months all you have to do is nominate the month you want you don't have to specify any day

C: right can you er— with the er advanced purchase you can mix seasons can't you *there's a low and high

S: *oh yes

S: well that's **why it's—

C: **it's a single fare *each way

S: *uhm

S: yes see what they've done in fact is . . . put all the half combinations together

C: *right

S: *see you simply look out the date you want to go . . . read across and the day you want to come back

C: right

S: so you can get a combination of 'n off-peak shoulder peak *off-peak or whatever

C: *right okay

S: that gives you it all worked out

C: now another thing I was interested in's children's fares

S: well children are not eligible for the advanced purchase children go at half of this fare

C: half of the excursion *fare

S: *half of the excursion air fare

C: is that applicable to the advanced purchase one too ↗

S: no children they just are not eligible for it it's got all the main points set out *down here ↗

C: *what what if if if the adult travels at advanced purchase though what happens to the children (laugh)

S: no the child— *we we book you altogether on the one booking

C: *will still travel at excursion fare

C: **yeah

S: **when we come to writing out the ticket yours is costed out differently from the child . . . just like on the domestic one we will book you all together and then we'll write you as an adult and a child as a half fare

C: right it's half of the excursion fare

- S: half of the excursion so you're looking at this one how many children have you got
- C: well two and a . . . baby about *()
- S: *two and a baby in other words you're looking at one full fare for two children they're both half . . . so say if you wanted to go . . . say across in September . . . and back in December . . . you'd be looking at for yourself . . . a thousand and seventeen . . . and if you're going here across in September . . . and back in December . . . with the two children . . . you're looking at sixteen hundred . . . and sixteen [S is demonstrating how the fares table works]
- C: right
- S: *so they're the two together and that's the fare
- C: *now . . . what happens to the children under what is it three years or
- C: something (I don't know)
- S: *uh no it's—
- C: *this is a baby of about er—
- S: right
- C: uh well he'll probably be about six months . . . *eight and a half months
- S: *it depends—
- S: zero to two years— two years and over are half fare
- C: right
- S: so zero to two's ten percent of the excursion air fare
- C: ten percent of the *excursion
- S: *yes so you'd be looking at a hundred and sixty
- C: right
- S: or whatever it was we worked out
- C: okay fine
- [2 secs]
- C: okay . . . thank you very much *that was all I was after
- S: *okay ↗
- [2 secs—C collects the brochure and her things]
- S: good thank you
- [C leaves]

TEXT 11—TRAVEL AGENCY

- S: yes ↗ [C turns to S] can I help you [taken down as notes]
- C: yes are there buses that go to Sydney uh . . . about midday
- S: no there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer they have the uh main . . . control they're the only ones that operate . . . and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon
- C: uhuh
- S: yeah . . . Greyhound do operate but they can't carry you they've no traffic rights Canberra Sydney
- C: yeah I see

- S: yeah it's only if you're going interstate then *they can they could carry you if you're going through to Brisbane
- C: *uhuh
- C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow
- S: tomorrow . . . er morning or afternoon now ↗
- C: uh midmorning early afternoon
- S: uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15 . . . and a 10:55 . . . and nothing then until 3:40 tomorrow
[4 secs]
- C: 10:55 [*C* mumbles to himself]
- S: we normally have one at ten past one but it's out earlier tomorrow it's 10:55
- C: is there any economies on the 10:55 then please
- S: yeah there's no problem there we can put you on
- C: okay I'll book it now thanks
- S: what's the surname then
- C: uh J O N E S [*C* spells out the letters in his name]
[3 secs—*S* writes the name down]
- S: what's your initial Mr Jones
- C: A
- S: what's your phone number at home here in Canberra
- C: I haven't got one
- S: got an address ↗
- C: sixty-five . . . *Linfield Street
- S: *hm
[5 secs—*S* writes the information down]
- C: Gilmore [= the suburb]
- S: Gilmore
[2 secs—*S* writes it down]
- S: uhm . . . just a single one way only
- C: that's right
- S: okay cash cheque bankcard ↗
- C: cash
- S: cash
[26 secs—*C* picks up the phone to call the reservations and dials]
- S: hello . . . hello . . . hello [*S* hangs up]
[16 secs—*S* dials again]
- S: yes er Chris White Marsden here Christine . . . could you sell me please one economy four o six [the flight number] Canberra Sydney tomorrow Friday eight February please [9 secs] it's slow is it ↗ [5 secs] no it's single one way only . . . the name Jones . . . that's J for John O N E S [*S* spells out the letters] . . . Mr A for Allen [6 secs] no no phone number only an address . . . it's 65 Linfield Court
- C: Street
- S: er Lin— Linfield Street sorry . . . Linfield Street in Gilmore [11 secs] and the ticket number seven eight o three eight two three [20 secs—*S* rips the ticket receipt from the ticket book] okay that's it then thanks very much righten ta [*S* hangs up]

- S*: yes that's okay Mr Jones 10:55 Canberra Sydney tomorrow
C: okay
S: into Sydney 11:30 and if you're catching a bus in the city it's ten past ten
C: ten past ten
 [*S* gives the ticket to *C*]
C: thank you very much
S: thirty six dollars ninety
 [*C* gives two twenty-dollar notes to *S*]
S: thanks very much
 [2 secs—*S* gets the change]
S: thirty-six ninety thirty-seven three is forty
C: *thanks very much
S: *thanks very much ta
 [4 secs—*C* collects his things]
C: thanks a lot
 [*C* leaves; *S* offers his service to another customer]

TEXT 12—TRAVEL AGENCY

- S*: how can we help you
C: yes well I want to . . . rebook to Brisbane . . . on the seventeenth . . . please . . . and I'd like to get on the . . . one ten p.m. [hands over his ticket]
 [4 secs]
S: do you have a phone number here in Canberra or—
C: oh yes there is one (mumbles)
S: what's the surname of the people you're staying with
C: Durton
S: D [*S* starts to spell]
C: D U R T O N [*C* spells the name] 128 Cavalry Crescent
 [21 secs—*S* looks up the number in the phone book]
S: D U R T O N [*S* spells the name again]
C: yeah
S: yes there's only one listed for Crown Street Curtin
C: oh no that's not the— they've— well they've had it on for . . . oh for about six to nine months now
S: oh . . . no this phone book is . . . uh fifteen months old now . . . you don't have it on a piece of paper or anything now *do you ↗
C: *no it's . . . it's double eight something or other couldn't tell you what the *rest of it is
S: *oooh [starts dialling]
C: eight double five *or something like that
S: *right let's see . . . so what was that . . . Cavalry Crescent
C: yeah Cavalry Crescent one twenty-eight
 [50 secs—*S* puts the receiver down and dials again]

- S*: yes could you please check a number for Durton D U R T O N Cavalry Crescent . . . it's a new listing . . . oh about six to nine months [25 secs—*S* waits] good thank you very much . . . bye [*S* hangs up]
- S*: two eight double six three six sound familiar ↗
- C*: uhum (laugh)
[15 secs—*S* dials for the reservations]
- S*: Nick it's Barb from Marsden here . . . could I have one economy connection please Canberra through to Brisbane . . . seventeen of February . . . one ten connection . . . four o six four five four I think . . . one way only for surname Durton D for David U R T O N . . . initials B M mister . . . Canberra home two eight double six three six . . . no . . . and the ticket number . . . eight double two five . . . six zero four . . . oh well fine thanks how're you . . . no I'm uh— . . . yes I'm a I'm a slacker . . . uhm . . . yes I— . . . good okay thanks very much . . . right bye [*S* hangs up]
- S*: all confirmed . . . you're on one ten arriving to Sydney at one forty-five . . . and then two o five out of Sydney arriving two twenty into Brisbane local time
- C*: okay *thank you very much
- S*: *thanks very much Mr Durton

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